

Wilderness Nation:
Building Canada's Railway Landscapes, 1885-1929

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ABSTRACT

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Central to Canadian identity is a national consciousness of inhabiting a country of vast landscapes, which are often identified as “wilderness.” This thesis explores the Canadian Pacific Railway Company’s use of architecture, landscape, and spatial techniques to construct Canadian concepts of wilderness during a crucial period of national expansion, economic growth, and cultural development. In alignment with federal projects of cultural nationalism, the country’s first transcontinental railway promoted land-grant sales and tourism by representing Canadian landscapes as wilderness areas to be at turns enhanced as scenic locales, tamed by agriculture, preserved as intact environments, or assimilated into a folk heritage.

The thesis is organized through a series of four case studies, each of which examines a particular architectural episode pertaining to a different variation of the wilderness ideal. The first case study, “A Civilized Wilderness” studies a tourism program initiated following the railroad’s completion in 1885, in which luxury railway hotels were constructed in locations seen as exhibiting the scenic properties of the aesthetic sublime. “A Fertile Wilderness” examines the railway's ready-made farm program of 1909 to 1914, which envisioned the redemption of sprawling Prairie wilderness areas within picturesque farming communities. “A Recreational Wilderness” examines a bungalow camp program from 1919 to 1929 that promoted the forests as a haven for riding, hiking, and residing in rustic cabins. Finally, “A Primitive Wilderness” examines the C.P.R.-sponsored Banff Indian Days festival that was fully formed between 1911

and 1929, in which Natives were associated with images of untouched wilderness settings belonging to a distant past.

This thesis studies how both the railway infrastructure itself and its landscapes came to be constructed as aesthetic objects, relating to landscape traditions in Europe and North America, and contributing to the conceptualization of wilderness as an integral part of cultural nationalism in Canada.

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PREFACE

Every nation has its rite of passage, an iconic journey that embodies one's coming-of-age as a citizen. For Americans, it's the coast-to-coast road trip. Australians take a 'gap year' to venture off their continent. Canadians, meanwhile, dream of riding the railway across their country.

It's a marathon journey – it takes five days and five nights to travel from coast to coast, a distance of over 3,500 miles. And as those who have taken the trip warn those who have not, it can be deadly boring. For the long stretch north of Lake Superior, the train traverses a barren landscape of rocks and pine forest – an endless corridor of dark green. Crossing the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta entails falling asleep and waking up to Prairie grain fields so flat and monotonous, it's unclear whether you've moved during the night. If you go with the coach fare, as budget-minded students often do, there are the discomforts of changing in tiny shared bathrooms and sleeping in not-quite reclined seats to contend with. In my parents' days, taking the train was a bargain – my mother spent \$51 to take the train from Montreal to Vancouver in the late 1960s. These days, the train has become a much pricier undertaking. Flying across the country is far cheaper, and a good deal more expedient than going by rail.

Nevertheless, as a child, the idea of taking the train across Canada took root in my imagination. Perhaps it was through hearing stories from my parents, or maybe it was something that was more ineffably part of the culture I grew up in: something that even if unspoken, was a common dream. By whatever means, the idea seeped into my mind that this was a journey one ought to take as a Canadian, that it would be the ultimate way to understand the country I was born and raised in. Only through the ordeal of the long journey could I understand the immensity of the

country. Traveling on the railway that first joined Canada together as a coast-to-coast entity seemed the historically suitable way to accomplish the trip. Before ever traveling west, I could vividly picture stunning sunsets over endless Prairie wheat farms and the towering grandeur of the Rocky Mountains. I imagined myself hiking through ancient Western forests, and exploring coastal villages dotted with totem poles. These landscape images, gleaned from favorite paintings in the National Gallery of Canada, artifacts in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and coffee table books in my parents' living room, informed my nascent sense of what it meant to be Canadian.

As I completed degrees in architecture and architectural history, I learned how both nationhood and landscapes are much more complex – and far more intriguing - notions than they initially appear to be, layered with collective values and histories. This study stems from a desire to reexamine the key images of Canadian nationalism that I took for granted in my youth — the Western wilderness landscapes associated with the transcontinental railway — in the light of these complexities. Why did certain landscapes assume so much importance for me? Why, for instance, did I picture wheat fields rather than oil fields, and imagine my journey culminating in a coastal village of totem poles rather than among Vancouver's skyscrapers? In short, why was the train journey always tied in my mind to vast, untouched areas that I thought of as “wilderness”? I hazarded that I was not the only one with these views, but that they were something I held in common with other Canadians, images embedded in the collective national imagination.

On August 30, 2010 at quarter past noon, I boarded the train in Halifax with my partner, James, for a cross-continental train journey – the first time for both of us in making this trip. Thanks to the generosity of VIA Rail Canada, the country’s primary passenger train service, we would travel not in economy, but in sleeper touring class, complete with fold-out beds and gourmet meals in the dining car. Upon arrival in Vancouver, we would board the Rocky Mountaineer, the passenger rail service that runs on the old Canadian Pacific Railway tracks through the Rocky Mountains. For that leg, we’d travel in GoldLeaf service, in a two-level observation car with panoramic views from a glass-domed roof.

On the way, we met many other travelers from Canada and around the world who had long dreamed of this trip. One couple came because the Scottish wife, Irene, had read about the Canadian Pacific Railway in a *National Geographic* when she was a child, in the 1950s. “Being a childhood dream, it’s not all that I imagined, but it’s still quite something,” she confided. A young couple in their early thirties hailed from Pittsburgh – one was a train buff, eager to compare VIA Rail with Amtrak’s transcontinental service. At a bed and breakfast in Winnipeg, we met Richard, who told us about making the train crossing from Windsor to Vancouver on a grade eight class trip some decades ago. “It cost \$122, and that included a \$6 per night stay in a cabin at the Jasper Park Lodge. I remember because I had to come up with half the money,” he recalled. Others had similar stories. As Ivan Zenchuk, one of the service managers on the multi-stage trip reflected, “the people who make this trip, the first decision they make sitting at the kitchen table is, ‘let’s take the train across Canada.’” Like me, the passengers filling the train were there less for the destination than for the voyage itself, the pilgrimage across Canada by rail.

This trip would mark the culmination of my research for this dissertation. But it was also the journey that, as it took place over and over again in my young imagination, marked the precocious beginnings of this study.

Chapter 1

Introduction

When I was growing up in Ottawa, the capital city of Canada, the railway meant architecture as much as it did transportation. In the middle of downtown, just before you arrived at the Parliament Buildings, stood the towering Château Laurier with its fairy castle-like turrets. It was common knowledge that this was the Railway Hotel, even though the passenger rail service now arrived at a modernist station just outside of the central core. As a child, I remember gazing at the hotel's grand entrance stair during the Canada Day parades that marched in front of it, puzzling out how the railway would have once made its way alongside the canal, passed the west flank of the grand building, and arrived at a station on the other side of the road. Later, as a teenager, for me the height of luxury was an afternoon at the Château's ground floor restaurant, listening to a live jazz pianist and sipping hot chocolate, poured from a white porcelain teapot into an elegantly petite teacup.

These experiences of railway architecture were not unique to me, or to my city. Every major metropolis in Canada is graced with a grandiose railway hotel, built by either the Canadian Pacific Railway or one of its later competitors, the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific. Several are major icons and tourist attractions synonymous with their region: St. Andrew's by the Sea in the Atlantic Coast town of the same name, the Château Frontenac in Quebec City, Fort Garry at Winnipeg, the Palliser in Calgary, the Banff Springs Hotel in the Canadian Rockies, Château Lake Louise, Hotel Vancouver, the Empress at Victoria. The importance of these hotels, both as tourist attractions and social centers for local residents, dates back to their construction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. "The significance of the railway hotel's role as

nucleus and center-of-gravity of Canadian urban life during the first half of this century can hardly be over-emphasized,” architectural historian Abraham Rogatnick observed fifty years ago. “Almost any Canadian born within a reasonable distance from one of these centres will recall today that nearly all the important landmarks of his life took place or were celebrated — and even solemnized — in his local railway hotel: his baptismal reception, the children’s Christmas and Easter parades that he remembers, the football rallies he went wild in, the dances he suffered and enjoyed [...], his marriage reception, his critical business meetings, the commemoration of his anniversaries.”¹ Often located on spectacular sites, the railway hotels were the longstanding pinnacles of civilization, literally as well as figuratively. The first of the series, the Banff Springs Hotel, stood on a mountainside overlooking the Bow and Spray Rivers. When it was mistakenly built to face the mountain, amendments were quickly made to add a rotunda pavilion that would recover the river vista. The Château Frontenac, the second hotel to be constructed, overlooked the St. Lawrence River and could be spotted from far downstream — a welcome sight to steamship passengers completing the long Atlantic crossing. In Buster Keaton’s comic rail journey across Canada, *The Railrodder* (1965), railway hotels are the principal signposts of cities: Keaton’s first sighting of Quebec City, seen upside down through a telescope, is a view of the Château Frontenac. In Ottawa, the background to Keaton’s elaborate morning toilette is not the Parliament Buildings, but Château Laurier. The propane-fuelled maintenance car that Keaton travels on, like the railway’s touring class cars, is a mini hotel in itself, producing luxuries including a large-format camera, fur coat, and full porcelain tea set. In Keaton’s version of Canada’s geography, the railway traces a thin, long line across the country, traversing a

¹ Abraham Rogatnick, "Canadian Castles," *Architectural Review* XLVI, no. 843 (1967): 867.

continuous landscape of rail yards and industrial zones in Eastern Canada and vast regions of sparsely inhabited forests in Western Canada, on a route punctuated throughout by luxury hotels.

The history of Canada's railway hotels is intertwined with the chronicle of the first rail franchise to lay tracks traversing the country, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (C.P.R.). On November 7, 1885, railway director and financier Donald A. Smith drove the last iron spike into a rail tie at Eagle Pass, British Columbia, completing the C.P.R.'s trunk line across Canada. The inauguration of a transcontinental rail link was a landmark event for the young Dominion, affirming its territorial holdings by connecting established Eastern Canada to the Western colony of British Columbia and opening access to vast territories between the two [Figure 1-1]. In the period of nascent nationalism that ensued, the C.P.R. actively promoted railway landscapes through programs to lure settlers and tourists to the far Western reaches of Canada. As a key component of this policy, it celebrated the newly accessible Prairies and Rocky Mountains as iconic places not only for the railway, but also for the nation as a whole.²

As one of the most powerful private entities in Canada at the time, the C.P.R. promoted Canadian landscapes through projects that went far beyond its original mandate of building a railway and offering transportation services. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it took on architecture and planning tasks: constructing resort hotels and rustic camps, founding towns, building irrigation infrastructure, and designing farm communities. Canadian Pacific

² In accord with colloquial Canadian usage, I employ the term "Prairies" to describe the grassland plains in Western Canada, which extend across present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba — the so-called "Prairie Provinces."

directors furnished artists, writers, and photographers with free rail passes, encouraging them to document Western Canada in flattering terms. The railway company's own publicity department churned out brochures, books, posters and albums to promote settlement and tourism along the railway's farthest reaches. These efforts shaped the physical reality of Western Canada — and, perhaps of equal importance, affected the way these landscapes, and the country in which they were situated, were perceived by the rest of Canada and by the world at large.

The railway's imagery of Western Canada gave a prominent place to vast natural landscapes: the rail line itself and its accompanying constructions were celebrated for their locations within expansive stretches of remote mountain, plains, and forest. Early C.P.R. literature is replete with engravings of alpine peaks seen from the railcars, drawings of Company-built luxury hotels on cliffs, images of rustic cabins in forests, illustrations of prosperous farms on railway-accessed plains, and photos of tipi encampments near mountain foothills [Figure 1-2]. Western boosters and national parks promoters picked up on these motifs and repeated them, embedding them further into regional and national identities that were in the process of being constructed. In each case, the places were depicted as natural, remote landscapes, penetrated only recently by civilization in the form of the railway and its accompanying structures — what in the perception of the public were “wilderness” areas — that were held to exemplify the distinctive character and potential of Western Canada.

In the twenty-first century, the term “wilderness” is most commonly used to refer to landscapes remote from inhabitation and untouched by humans, and the use of this term in the context of landscapes made accessible and developed by a railway company may at first seem questionable

or strange. However, few — if any — landscapes are entirely free from the direct or indirect influence of human activity. At the end of the nineteenth century, during a period of increased industrialization and urbanization within North America, the railway provided a means to escape crowded urban conditions and enter distant environments. These landscapes were identified as “wilderness” areas despite the reality that the conditions of their viewing were regulated according to particular aesthetic ideas, the fact that the railway itself marked the incursion of civilization’s most advanced technology within the landscapes it traversed, and the seeming paradox that these areas showed definite evidence of human inhabitation in the form of hotels, farms, and other architectural structures.

In Canada, the development of what may be termed a “wilderness ethos” in reaction to industrialization can be observed from the late nineteenth century onwards. This new appreciation of the physical, aesthetic, and spiritual values of areas remote from urban centers arose in parallel with a similar movement in the United States. It also was inflected by ideas of landscape perception and appreciation from Britain and continental Europe. Moreover, the ascendance of the wilderness concept coincided with a period of nascent nationalism. While Canada’s reserves of sparsely inhabited territory were vast compared with its neighbors to the south or across the Atlantic, its business and cultural elite also exaggerated the “wilderness” qualities of these landscapes, in order to present them as key symbols of national potential and distinctiveness. Through a combination of geographical conditions, federal policies, and the promotional efforts of private companies including the Canadian Pacific Railway, these landscapes became integral to the developing sense of a Canadian national identity [Figure 1-2, 1-3].

Changing Views of Wilderness

The dialectic between wilderness and urbanism, like the one between nature and culture, is part of an enduring pattern. As late as the 18th century, in Europe and North America, the word “wilderness” referred to barren, desolate places that engendered terror, but entering the modern era, the concept of wilderness became endowed with positive values.³ In Europe, the establishment of the sublime as an aesthetic category engendered a new appreciation for landscapes such as mountains, which would earlier have been regarded as unpleasantly frightening or even demonic. In his 1757 *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, Edmund Burke argued that while beautiful objects induced sensations of affection and tenderness in viewers, sublime objects could also create powerful, pleasurable sensations by filling the mind with a sense of terror. While Burke believed that literature was the most effective means of creating the sublime, he allowed that physical artifacts — including architecture and landscapes — could also provoke these sensations. Objects that exhibited vastness and rudeness, such as mountains, waterfalls, and canyons, were particularly admired as agents of the sublime.

The popularization of the picturesque proposed another type of aesthetic appreciation, which also valued natural landscapes with an untamed appearance. At its origins, the picturesque was tied to the rise of scenic landscape tourism. Following the example of painter William Gilpin who traveled the River Wye in search of the picturesque in 1770, Britons embarked on travels in

³ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996). First published as *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, 1995.

order to observe landscapes composed in a manner that resembled painted pictures or that would form suitable subjects for painting. Subtle variations rather than grand scenery were valued, along with hills, woods, rocks, and buildings that might serve as landscape “ornaments.” At the end of the eighteenth century, Uvedale Price advanced a consolidated theory of the picturesque as a category distinct from the sublime and the beautiful. Richard Payne Knight would further elaborate the theory, seeking a place for subjective perception, and associating the informality of picturesque landscapes with an attitude of political liberty. Subsequent landscape “improvers” sought to produce the accidental effects of the picturesque in composed gardens and estates.

These means of appreciating “rude” nature — whether found in sublime objects or created by artifice in picturesque compositions — were amplified in nature ideals in the New World. This was especially pronounced in the American transcendentalist movement, whose supporters valued nature as a manifestation of the divine. Ralph Waldo Emerson’s writings epitomize this view, advocating a child-like approach to the untouched natural world in order to discover its inherent divinity. His landmark essay “Nature” (1836) opened with the declaration “in the woods, we return to reason and faith.”⁴ The attribution of moral value to pristine nature was also fundamental to Henry David Thoreau’s 1845 experiment in woodland living on the banks of Walden Pond, outside of Boston. Thoreau undertook a return to a primitive, frontier lifestyle as an antidote to the falsities and pretensions of life in civilized society. His search to achieve radical simplicity in the so-called “wilds” of Walden Pond — which were in fact, not so far removed from civilization — was at its heart a quest to recover moral innocence and purity. “I

⁴ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* (Boston: J. Munroe and Company, 1836).

love the wild not less than the good,” he wrote in his account of the year. While a long tradition of associating the beautiful with the good existed, Thoreau attributed moral value to “wild” nature in particular.⁵

However, with industrial, agricultural, and urban development in the nineteenth century, a realization also arose that places truly untouched by civilization were growing increasingly rare. George Perkins Marsh’s *Man and Nature, or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, published in 1864, is often identified as the first treatise to discuss the widespread and potentially destructive effects of human actions on the natural world. Observing the unintended consequences of agricultural forest clearance near his Vermont community, Marsh argued that forests in their natural state achieved balanced environmental conditions that were disrupted with the abrupt removal of the woods. In order to maintain a natural balance in parallel situations, he argued for sustainable management practices such as silviculture, dike building, and the creation of artificial sand dunes.⁶ Marsh’s argument for advancing development while artificially maintaining environmental balance was at the core of what became known by the 1910s as the conservationist view. Gifford Pinchot, the first Chief of the United States Forest Service at the dawn of the twentieth century, most famously embraced this perspective in arguing for the benefits of intensive, managed forestry.

⁵ Henry David Thoreau and Brooks Atkinson, ed., *Walden, and Other Writings* (New York: Modern Library, 1950), 273.

⁶ George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature, or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (New York: C. Scribner, 1864).

In contrast, writers and activists such as Pinchot's preservationist opponent, John Muir, espoused an Emersonian perspective by upholding the spiritual value of original, intact nature, and advocating to safeguard relatively undamaged natural areas. These preservationist views were pivotal in establishing the first state and national parks as areas protected from forestry — Yosemite in 1864 and Yellowstone in 1872.⁷ As additional national parks were established, the United States began promoting the role of these in shaping its national identity. Geological formations and old-growth forest stands were fêted as natural monuments, presenting worthy counterparts to the antique architecture of Europe.⁸ Rugged landscapes were also celebrated as remnants of a hostile wilderness; the conquest of which Frederick Jackson Turner argued had been instrumental to the formation of American institutions and a national character. In his address to the World's Columbian Exposition in 1898, Turner advanced his view that the conquest of hostile wilderness conditions by American settlers had been key to producing the distinct individualism of Americans, but that this frontier was already part of a bygone era. At the turn of the century, he declared, "the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history."⁹ Turner's reading of the crucial role of the wilderness frontier helped to provide justification for policies that saved natural areas in the following decades,

⁷ On June 30, 1864, an Act of Congress declared Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Giant Sequoias as premises to be "held for public use, resort and recreation" by the State of California. Yellowstone was established as the first national park under federal jurisdiction on October 1, 1872. Yosemite became a national park in 1890.

⁸ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995), 185-201.

⁹ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", and Other Essays*, ed. John Mack Faragher (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 60.

including the inauguration of a national forest system, the expansion of the national park system, and the popularization of a wilderness appreciation movement among Americans.

With the increased concern for environmental issues in the 1960s and inauguration of a United States wilderness preservation policy in 1964, American historians began to critically examine the history of conservation and the history of wilderness as an idea. Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* (1964) returned to the writings of Emerson and Thoreau in order to study the hold of a pastoral ideal — what he characterizes as a “middle landscape” between wilderness and civilization — on the American imagination, especially during the country's industrial take-off from 1840 to 1860. Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967) covered overlapping ground and extended Marx's timeframe, describing how by the 1890s uncultivated natural areas had become valued as components of the American national identity. Nash argued that regions seen as “wild” were key to developing a distinct cultural identity. In his description, a preoccupation with “wilderness” led to the establishment of the first national parks and in the early twentieth century, to a widespread “wilderness cult.” At the core of this wilderness movement was a tension between preservationists — Nash's heroes, Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Aldo Leopold — who saw nature as possessing intrinsic worth, and conservationists, represented by forester Gifford Pinchot, who advocated for the conservation of natural areas as a strategy for assuring access to future resources for human use. In Nash's account, this fundamental conflict of values surrounding the wilderness idea continues to underlie environmental debates to his day.¹⁰

¹⁰ Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New

In the decades since Nash's book was published, dozens of historians have studied different aspects of American wilderness ideas and politics. One of the most probing reflections, philosopher Max Oelschlaeger's *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (1991), argued that positive views of wilderness had a much longer history than Nash postulated. Oelschlaeger characterized American nature writers as part of a deep-rooted intellectual tradition of critical responses to the mechanistic models of nature and society proposed by Hobbesian-Smithian modernism. In doing so, he suggested that beyond promoting wilderness preservation, figures such as Thoreau and Muir laid the philosophical groundwork for what he described as a "postmodern" wilderness philosophy, in which human and cultural values could be linked with a sacred sense of wild nature, and which could ultimately combat the environmentally destructive practices Oelschlaeger associated with a "modern" view of the natural world as an object to be exploited.¹¹ Alexander Wilson's *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (1992) examined wilderness as a recurring theme in post-WWII Canadian and American landscapes; his study is premised on an assumption that natural landscapes are framed and shaped by social and cultural ideologies.¹²

Haven: Yale University Press, 1967). See also Hayden White, "Forms of Wildness: The Archaeology of an Idea," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

¹¹ Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

¹² Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992).

One of the most influential pieces in the wilderness discussion has been environmental historian William Cronon's 1995 essay, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." Similar to Oeschlaeger, Cronon argued that the traditional definition of wilderness was part of a persistent Western dualism that placed wilderness in opposition to civilization. Cronon felt that this was ultimately a dangerous juxtaposition. By associating their core values with supposedly pristine natural areas distant from industrialized society, Americans could continue to participate without qualms in environmentally destructive practices closer to home. Thus, he argued, the idea of a "pure wilderness" actually facilitated environmental degradation. Cronon concluded that Americans needed to focus on the "wildness" that could be found close at hand, rather than the idea of an unscathed "wilderness" existing outside of history.¹³ The recently published *American Wilderness: A New History* provides a useful selection of writings by wilderness historians that have followed in the wake of debates provoked by Cronon. As editor Michael Lewis points out, current historians have deepened their analysis, finding fresh perspectives from the wilderness movement of the 1960s and discovering new sources and stories. These authors have begun to examine the politics of the wilderness movement from a critical distance, applied postcolonial analyses that examine how wilderness preservation has negatively affected indigenous peoples, and begun to investigate how concepts about wilderness are linked to ideas of nation and nationalism.¹⁴

¹³ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996).

¹⁴ Michael Lewis, *American Wilderness: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3-13.

My own work is situated among the studies of this new generation of wilderness historians. In light of insights from earlier scholars, “Wilderness Nation” examines Canadian Pacific Railway projects in an effort to understand how Canadian wilderness ideas were constructed a century ago, seeking to understand why these ideas became at that time — and remain to this day — integral to Canadian national identity.

National Identity and “The Great Transformation”

While all nations can be seen as political and cultural constructions, rather than as predetermined geographical or ethnic entities, this is especially apparent in the case of Canada. Its development as a political entity is relatively recent: initial unification occurred through the Confederation Act of 1867 and a more marked political independence from Britain was achieved fifty years later, in 1917. From its beginnings, Canada’s open immigration policy led to an ethnically diverse society, making it difficult to define the nation along established racial or cultural lines. As a Dominion entering the twentieth century, Canada could not construct its identity in opposition to an ex-colonial authority.¹⁵ In addition, its extremely large area, which only attained its current boundaries in 1949, has made it impossible to link the country with a single distinctive geography.¹⁶ The idea of wilderness in a broadly defined sense came to encompass Canada’s many geographies, becoming itself a single catchword for the national landscape.

¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, “Staging Antimodernism in the Age of High Capitalist Nationalism,” in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 97-98.

¹⁶ 1949 marks the entry of Newfoundland in Confederation as the tenth province. It was a British colony from 1583 to 1907, then a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire from 1907-1949. The establishment of Nunavut as a territory composed of land previously part of the Northwest Territories and governed by an indigenous council in 1999, while keeping the overall

A crucial moment in Canada's struggle with identity occurred at the turn of the twentieth century, a time when many other nation-states sought to define themselves.¹⁷ From the completion of the transcontinental rail link in 1885 to the eve of the Depression in 1929, the nation experienced significant physical expansion, economic growth, and cultural development. Dubbed "The Great Transformation" by historians including Robert Brown and Ramsey Cook, these decades marked Canada's state-led transition from a resource-based colony to an independent nation with an industrialized economy and a network of national cultural institutions.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway fulfilled an 1871 promise to the colony of British Columbia for a transportation link to the rest of Canada [Figure 1-5].¹⁸ It also opened up a vast territory that at the time was largely unsettled. The character of this region changed rapidly

boundaries of Canada unchanged, is indicative of the ongoing negotiations of political and geographical responsibility within the country.

¹⁷ Anderson, "Staging Antimodernism in the Age of High Capitalist Nationalism," 97-98.

¹⁸ While British Columbia had asked for a coach road to the rest of the Dominion, the Canadian government offered delegates more than they had asked for — a railway to the Pacific, to be commenced within two years and completed within ten. For an account of the political events that led to the foundation of the C.P.R., see Pierre Berton, *The National Dream* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974). The construction of the railway is chronicled in multiple sources, including most notably ———, *The Last Spike* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974); Omer Lavallée, *Van Horne's Road: An Illustrated Account of the Construction and First Years of Operation of the Canadian Pacific Transcontinental Railway* (Montreal: Railfare Enterprises, 1974) and Harold Adams Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971). In 1885, the rail link extended to Port Moody on the West Coast and Quebec City on the East Coast; the line would later be extended west to Vancouver (1887) and east to the Atlantic port of Saint John, New Brunswick (1912).

between 1885 and 1929. During this period, the Western Prairies would be agriculturally developed, primarily for wheat production, and areas throughout the West ranched, mined and lumbered. Simultaneously, Eastern Canada saw the rise of manufacturing and development of corporations. From 4.8 million inhabitants in 1891, the country's population more than doubled to 10 million in 1929. Urban populations came to outstrip rural numbers, marking a shift to industrial development. Canada's gross domestic product of \$858 million in 1891 increased fourfold to \$3.2 billion by 1926. Meanwhile, aggregate funds held by financial institutions increased sevenfold, from less than one billion dollars in 1891 to seven billion in 1931.¹⁹

As it gained in economic strength, Canada began to consolidate its political identity. Among the population, a sense of collective solidarity arose, particularly following the country's voluntary participation and sacrifice in WWI. In 1895, Britain was still arguing that colonies including Canada could not make their own treaties; in 1917, the Imperial War Cabinet recognized the Dominion as an autonomous nation under the Imperial Commonwealth. By 1926, the Imperial Conference laid the groundwork for an arrangement based on equal status between Canada and Great Britain. Canada was emerging as one of the world's fastest growing economies, and simultaneously gaining autonomy as a political entity on the international stage.

¹⁹ Donald Kerr, Deryck W. Holdsworth, and Geoffrey J. Matthews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume III: Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891-1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 13-15, plate 3, plate 9.

The country also underwent intense cultural development during this period, most apparent in its development of a national network of cultural institutions.²⁰ From a scant six museums in 1867, a hundred and fifty federal, provincial, and local museums had appeared by the eve of the Second World War. At the forefront of this development, the Canadian Geological Survey, initially founded in the early 1840s to survey the united Province of Canada, became increasingly involved in collecting cultural artifacts, establishing an anthropology division and a public presence as the National Museum of Canada in 1910. The National Art Gallery of Canada, originally conceived under the stewardship of the British-led Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts in 1880, established an independent exhibition and acquisitions program in 1907, and was incorporated in 1913 under its own board of trustees. Recognizing the promotion of a national artistic identity as a major responsibility, it began a program of acquiring and exhibiting works by Canadian artists; its first on-loan exhibition was a show of contemporary Canadian painting that toured the Midwestern United States in 1918 and 1919.²¹ Canada had been an active participant in international exhibitions since the nineteenth century; during the early twentieth century, these displays thrived alongside such national fairs as the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, renamed the Canadian National Exhibition in 1912, and the Pacific National Exhibition, Vancouver, inaugurated in 1910. In 1927, the Toronto fairground unveiled the Princes' Gates, a design featuring nine pillars intended to represent the nine provinces [Figure 1-6]. In 1927, the first national radio broadcast was heard across Canada, and two years later, a federal commission recommended the creation of a nationally owned company to operate a coast-to-coast broadcast

²⁰ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 2.

²¹ Garry Mainprize, "The National Gallery of Canada: A Hundred Years of Exhibitions — List and Index," *Canadian Art Review* XI, no. 1-2 (1984): 3-6.

system. Keeping pace with Canadian economic development and political independence, the growth of these institutions was indicative of a desire to define and display the nation in cultural terms, both domestically and abroad.

Antimodern modernism in Canadian culture

As Canada modernized, its cultural institutions reacted in part by building up collections and displays characterized by antimodern themes. Beginning in the early 1900s, the National Museum culled totems and Native artifacts from the Pacific Northwest.²² The museum's chief anthropologist Marius Barbeau traveled throughout rural Quebec and the West Coast to document traditional cultural practices, transcribing folk songs from the former and recording Native legends from the latter. Federal agencies supported the emergence of an ostensibly traditional handicraft industry in Atlantic Canada. In a process that Ian McKay following Eric Hobsbawm describes as the "invention of the folk," pre-industrial traditions were encouraged, and even at times invented, as a foil to the rapid modernization and urbanization that dominated the national scene.²³

Intertwined with the motifs of regional folk and Native peoples, Canada's cultural identity included pre-modernization images of wilderness landscapes. Like the trends of collecting folk and Native artifacts, views of wilderness were largely reified from a white, Anglophone

²² Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).

²³ Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

perspective. Historian Carl Berger has identified a growing association in Canadian nationalist thought at the end of the nineteenth century between the idea of Canada as a Northern wilderness and the health of the so-called Canadian race.²⁴ An Anglo-Ontario cultural bias was also evident in the support of elite private collectors and the National Art Gallery for the Toronto-based Group of Seven from the late 1910s onward, whose wilderness canvases were promoted as the works of a leading Canadian school of art [Figure 1-7]. Key to the Group's success was a notion of, in art historian Lynda Jessup's assessment, "the authentic Canadian painter as a premodern man seeking, in the imagined premodern environment of the Canadian wilderness, the physical and emotional intensity identified with authentic experience."²⁵ The painters of the group promoted their canvases through accompanying stories of camping in the wilderness and creating on-site oil sketches, many of which are preserved and, in several Canadian museums, are displayed alongside the final paintings [Figure 1-8]. The sketches assure the authenticity of the final work, affirming that the larger canvases are faithful reproductions of a remote landscape that was witnessed first-hand by one of the painters in the group. In effect, the painters at some level reenacted the white exploration and conquest of Canada, and coded this experience onto their canvases.

²⁴ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

²⁵ Despite its claims to speak for the country as a whole, the Group's successful work exhibits what Jessup identifies as an elite, regionalist view of wilderness. Lynda Jessup, "Bushwhackers in the Gallery: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 132. Note that while I follow Jessup, MacKay, and Hobsbawm in using the terms "modernism" and "antimodernism" in this discussion, which tend to refer to established outlooks, the broader role of modernization as a process should be considered as integral to the events and ideas that are presented here.

The white, Anglophone cultural bias and valuation of antimodern wilderness ideas is further evidenced in the federal “collection” of natural areas undertaken in this period. Swaths of Western Canadian mountains admired by largely Anglophone Eastern Canadians were reserved during this time, creating parks that conformed to aesthetic tastes derived from England and that were similar to national parks in the Western United States. These formed the basis of what only later became a more geographically widespread and diverse national park system. Rocky Mountains (later Banff) National Park was the first to be established in 1885, and the additions that followed — Glacier, Yoho, and Waterton Lakes — were also situated in the mountains of Western Canada [Figure 1-9]. In 1911, a Parks Branch Department was established within the Ministry of the Interior to administer the parks, giving the parks increased importance under federal jurisdiction. The parks were distinguished from National Forest Reserves by their aesthetic qualities, which it was hoped would appeal to visitors — the new department’s commissioner, J.B. Harkin, described them as places whose “wonder and beauties” were to be made available and accessible to Canadians as well as foreign tourists eager to explore these remote natural regions.²⁶

Wilderness themes also became prominent in Canadian literature in this period, although some books considered as Canadian wilderness classics had been published earlier in the nineteenth century. For instance *Wacousta; or The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas* (1833) was an epic tale

²⁶ Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912), 5. By 1929, thirteen national parks had been designated, reaching from Georgian Bay Islands National Park in Ontario, to Wood Buffalo National Park in the Northwest Territories.

set in the mysterious and dangerous Canadian forests, while Catherine Parr Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* (1846) and Susanna Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush, or Life in Canada* (1852) delivered pioneer accounts of the pleasures and perils of settler life in the Ontario backwoods [Figure 1-10].²⁷ These texts typified what Northrup Frye has termed a "garrison mentality" of man holding out, whether in forts or homesteads, against a hostile and pervasive natural environment. In the same vein, Margaret Atwood morosely noted a recurring theme in Canadian literature, seeded in Moodie and continuing in a panoply of later authors: "Nature seen as dead, or alive but indifferent, or alive and actively hostile towards man."²⁸

While the idea of a hostile Nature continued to be influential in Canadian literature, another group of writings emerged in the early twentieth century that took a positive view of the natural environment. Ontario-born Ernest Thompson Seton sought to instill youth with character-building values through wilderness stories and Indian lore; his Woodcraft Indians merged with the Boy Scout movement in 1906. Experience in the Maritime fields and forests informed

²⁷ John Richardson, *Wacousta, or, The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas* (Philadelphia: Key and Biddle, 1833), Susanna Strickland Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush, or, Life in Canada* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1852), Catherine Parr Strickland Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer: Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America* (London: C. Knight, 1846). Also see ———, *The Canadian Settlers' Guide*, 10th ed. (London: E. Stanford, 1860).

²⁸ Northrup Frye, "Conclusion," in *Literary History of Canada*, ed. Carl Frederick Klinck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi, 1972), 33-41. Although Frye and Atwood constructed national literary histories around recurring images of a hostile Canadian wilderness environment, this approach is now widely considered to be reductive, for instance cf. D. M. R. Bentley, *The Gay/Grey Moose: Essays on the Ecologies and Mythologies of Canadian Poetry, 1690-1990* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1992), Faye Hammill, *Canadian Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 62. Nevertheless, their ideas retain considerable influence.

Charles G.D. Roberts' prose and poetry animal stories, published in volumes including *Earth's Enigmas* (1896) and *The Kindred of the Wild* (1902).²⁹ Perhaps the most prominent figure of this Canadian literary movement, Archibald Belaney, adopted the dress and ways of the Northern Ontario Ojibwa and the new persona Grey Owl. Under both his old and adopted names, Grey Owl wrote about wilderness conservation values with deep sensitivity. On the whole, these writers presented untamed natural environments not as hostile places, but as sites of authenticity, escape, and self-knowledge.³⁰

These positive associations were not unique to Canadian literature. The aesthetics of the sublime and picturesque formed important strands in the Canadian landscape narrative. This is particularly evident in the late nineteenth century, when the Western Canadian Rockies were promoted as a North American parallel to the Swiss Alps — a place that was established as embodying qualities of the sublime, but that also lent itself to landscape touring in the picturesque tradition. The design of railway-built farms in the Prairies also drew on picturesque principles, seeking to replicate a style of landscaping and building admired by designers in the United Kingdom.

In the early twentieth century, Canada increasingly shared wilderness ideals with the United States, a country that similarly pressed natural landscapes to the service of establishing a distinctive national identity. Historians in the 1920s argued that Canada followed a similar

²⁹ Charles George Douglas Roberts, *Earth's Enigmas* (Boston: Lamson, Wolfe, 1896), ———, *The Kindred of the Wild; A Book of Animal Life* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1902).

³⁰ Hammill, *Canadian Literature*, 64.

trajectory to America's frontier expansion. Ignoring the international boundary, W.N. Sage treated Canadian expansion as an integral part of a total North American frontier movement, while A.S. Morton emphasized the dominant power of the environment in the extension of settlement into the Prairie West.³¹ As the United States designated its first national parks and began valuing them as national recreational grounds, invaluable for inculcating the citizenry with "manly" frontier qualities, Canada followed suit, creating a suite of Western parks. While the first Canadian national parks were health resorts modeled on European precedents, by the 1920s, the same parks promoted active recreation in a manner similar to American parks of that era. At certain times, Canada took the lead in park administrative policy — the creation of the Canadian Parks Branch in 1911 set the model for the 1916 American National Parks Bureau, and marked the beginning of applying modern conservation values to natural areas.

The relationship between the civilization-wilderness dichotomy on one hand, and an emerging Canadian national identity on the other, is complex. Many authors — particularly in periods of fervent nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s — have emphasized the distinctiveness of Canada's wilderness ideas (along with the environments imagined as such) in comparison to the United States and American nature ideals. For instance, literary critic Northrup Frye has written of Canada as "a country divided by two languages and great stretches of wilderness, so that its frontier is a circumference rather than a boundary; a country with huge rivers and islands that most of its natives have never seen; a country that has made a nation out of the stops on two of the world's longest railway lines," a distinct configuration that results in a situation where "many

³¹ J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (March 1954): 5.

of the imaginative problems that [this environment] presents have no counterpoint in the United States.”³² Author and critic Margaret Atwood’s survey of Canadian literature also forged a national approach in which wilderness ideas are central. While she characterized America’s literature as hinging on the idea of “The Frontier” and England’s on the symbol of “The Island,” she saw the central symbol for Canadian literature as “Survival.” A common theme in Canadian letters, she notes morosely is “hanging on, staying alive;” at its most basic level a reaction to the country’s harsh landscapes.³³ Literature scholar Gaile McGregor developed these themes further, arguing that Canadians have a characteristic apprehension of their natural environment, expressed in strategies such as avoidance, conventionalization, and domestication. McGregor has writes that this Canadian apprehension may be seen as a direct counterpart to the aggressive attitude of the American frontier movement.³⁴

This dissertation offers a more nuanced narrative by seeking to discern the various influences at play during this period. Different notions of what constituted “wilderness” were imported from Britain and the United States among other places, participating and often co-existing in the promotion and physical shaping of Western Canadian landscapes. These ideas were marshaled to support the growing notion of a unique Canadian national identity. The quest for national identity led to the presentation of Canadian landscapes as wilderness in various ways — at times

³² Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 164.

³³ Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, 32-33.

³⁴ Gaile McGregor, *The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape [sic]* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

as superior versions to their European and American counterparts, and at others, as entirely distinct from them.

The Canadian Pacific Railway, Wilderness, and Nationalism

Rapid modernization on one hand, and antimodern cultural ideas on the other, were both influential in Canada's formative years. These two strains meet in a striking manner in the work of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. As infrastructure, the nation's first transcontinental railway set the most advanced technology of the era — the steam locomotive — on one of the world's longest rail lines. This provided the physical means to settle Canada's Northern and Western regions, bringing modern agriculture to untilled plains and enforcing federal jurisdiction across the country. However, while itself a harbinger of modern techniques and institutions, the railroad also opened the way for more ambivalent interpretations of the country's modernization, by creating access to vast landscapes that could be presented and perceived as virgin wilderness regions.

A transcontinental railway is not inherently a nation-building project; as historian Andy den Otter argues, the proposal for a line across Canada was at its core a profit-making endeavor. The initial proposal did not preclude rail connections to the United States, and the syndicate that was initially awarded the construction mandate in 1871 included American financiers.³⁵ However, this syndicate dissolved in 1873 under charges of corruption, and by the time new private backers were appointed in 1881, the political winds had shifted. In 1879, a protectionist National

³⁵ Andy Arthur den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Policy had been adopted by the federal government, which supported controlled access to Western Canada — both for economic purposes and as a defensive measure in case of conflict with the United States. The consequent contract stipulated that the railway was to be kept within Canadian boundaries.

The all-Canadian route meant traversing remote landscapes that would have been averted by sharing existing U.S. rail lines. The railway would need to bridge the dense forests and swampy muskeg of the high Canadian Shield bedrock, north of Lake Superior. To minimize distance and protect against competition from American railways, the line was consistently located relatively close to the United States border — a decision that meant negotiating other difficult landscapes, including a semi-arid region of the Prairies unsuitable for conventional agriculture, and the southern Canadian Rockies, where no pass had yet been surveyed.

As a private corporation, the railway generated profits through both passenger and commercial rail traffic. Key to encouraging traffic was the sale and development of agricultural and town land that the railway had been granted along its length, which would result in eventual cargo and grain shipments along the rail line. In 1886, freight earnings were \$6.1 million, and had grown to \$145.3 million by 1920. Over the same period, earnings from passenger fares grew from \$2.8 million to \$49.1 million.³⁶ Despite its smaller overall financial stakes, promoting leisure rail travel was also important to the company. As railway historian Ted Hart explains, “through tourism promotion efforts the natural wonders of Canada were ‘sold’ to the rest of the world,

³⁶ Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 210-25.

resulting in a positive world view for the young nation. This, in turn, influenced such factors as immigration, trade, and international political relations.”³⁷ In the process of generating increased rail traffic, C.P.R. promotions created images by which the world — along with Canadians themselves — would become familiar with the far reaches of the country.

A number of studies have examined the C.P.R.’s campaign to establish an image of Canada closely identified with the landscapes along its route.³⁸ Certain landscapes traversed by the railway were already well-known as either settler or tourist destinations. In Eastern Canada, the cities of Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto were established commercial centers. In 1896, the federal government began an international advertising campaign that publicized the Prairies as a grain-growing region, drawing settlers to the parkland belt that extended from the Red River colony near Winnipeg northwest to Edmonton. On the West Coast, the city of Victoria, formerly a Hudson’s Bay company trading post and later the main supply base for Fraser Canyon gold miners, was also an important hub. Tourist destinations in Eastern Canada were well established.

³⁷ E. J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel* (Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises Ltd., 2000), 8.

³⁸ A discussion of the railway’s early advertising campaigns is provided in Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude, 1983) along with its updated version, Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel* and E. J. Hart, "See this World before the Next: Tourism and the CPR," in *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation*, ed. Hugh Aylmer Dempsey (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984). For the impact of C.P.R. patronage on Canadian landscape painting in the 1880s, see Dennis R. Reid, *"Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto, 1860-1890* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979). A detailed investigation into the patronage of landscape painters by the C.P.R. and its predecessor, the Intercolonial Railway, is provided in Lynda Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and 'The Business of Becoming a Nation'" (Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1992).

In addition to the major cities, popular haunts featuring natural sights included Niagara Falls, the Thousand Islands, and the Muskokas [Figure 1-11].³⁹ However, regions outside of Eastern Canada, particularly those inland in the Western part of the continent, were less well established. The C.P.R. endeavored to “sell” these unknown regions to both settlers and tourists as wilderness landscapes, making a virtue of their relatively untouched status and placement in remote parts of the British Empire.

As suggested earlier, the idea of these places as wilderness landscapes was not self-evident. Rather, these places were framed as “wilderness” through constructed artifacts: from the enlarged train windows and observation cars attached to trains, to static structures ranging from cottage homesteads to luxury hotels. The architecture of these viewing devices and structures, as well as the deliberate manipulation of landscapes in their vicinity, presented different visions of what constituted “wilderness” and how it was to be experienced. Surveying newly-plowed land from a farmhouse porch was a fundamentally different experience than looking out onto the Bow River from the terrace of the sophisticated Banff Springs Hotel. This in turn was different from stepping into the woods from a rustic log bungalow. In each case, what gave “wilderness” value shifted with time, geography, and audience.

Four Case Studies

To probe deeper into the multi-faceted concept of wilderness, this dissertation is structured around four case studies, each of which explores a different aspect of Canadian wilderness ideas

³⁹ For full descriptions of these locales, see George Monro Grant and L. R. O'Brien, *Picturesque Canada: The Country as it was and is* (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882).

associated with Western landscapes as they were promoted by the C.P.R.⁴⁰ Following a chronological trajectory, these can be conceptually grouped into two pairs, on either side of the First World War. The first duo celebrates an idea of wilderness as synonymous with untapped natural abundance, ultimately indicating a condition propitious to inhabitation and use by people. The architecture that resulted from this vision embodies high design ideals, representative of a civilized state situated within a natural backdrop. In contrast, the second pair of studies presents wilderness as a place of escape and reprieve from civilization. Architecturally, its developments are characterized by rustic or even primitive structures, celebrating wilderness as an anti-civilized domain rather than a place awaiting the amenities of civilization.

The first case study concerns the Rocky Mountains, an area actively developed by the C.P.R. as a scenic tourist retreat, particularly between 1885 and 1912 [Figure 1-12]. Through a “civilized wilderness” program that included luxury hotels and first-class rail carriages, the C.P.R. situated Canadian mountain landscapes within established European and American conventions of picturesque travel and alpine tourism. The design of the original Banff Springs Hotel in 1887, along with additions built in 1912, is of special interest. The hotel acted both as an object within the landscape and pavilion for viewing it. It also exemplified what would become a chain of stylistically related hotels along the railway’s length. Broadly, the Rocky Mountain region was

⁴⁰ Wilderness areas were also designated and promoted in Eastern Canada and the Maritimes, perhaps the most significant being Algonquin Park, designated as a provincial park in 1893. The coastal Maritimes region is considered outside of the scope of this study, as are the Pacific Northwest and Arctic regions, which have their own distinct wilderness histories. Developments in Ontario are discussed at times; they share some ideals with the development of Western Canadian landscapes, which were marketed to audiences in Eastern Canada as well as Europe and the United States. An expanded version of the current study is planned in which the relationship between developments in Ontario and Quebec, and those in Western Canada, is considered in greater detail.

constructed as a wilderness setting to be experienced primarily as sublime or picturesque scenery, with landmark hotels marking the constant, reassuring presence of civilization.

While the Rockies were presented as a wilderness to be experienced by privileged tourists as “civilized,” the Prairies embodied a related landscape idea — that of a “fertile wilderness” with immense promise for the civilizing force of agriculture. The second case study examines the railway company’s 1909 to 1914 program of creating ready-made farms, which played a part in re-imagining a semi-arid region of the Prairie West as a fertile ground for agricultural settlement [Figure 1-13]. Situated on land irrigated by railway-built infrastructure, the program included the construction and sale of turn-key farms to novice settlers, targeting British immigrants in particular. Contextualizing the program’s architectural and land-use decisions relative to rural and suburban precedents in Europe and North America reveals how its imagery drew on broader cultural idealizations of country life to amplify the region’s promise.

In contrast to the primarily visual engagement with alpine views offered by the luxury hotels, the C.P.R.’s log-cabin bungalow camps, developed between 1919 and 1929, proposed an immersive engagement with woodland environments [Figure 1-14]. These bungalow camps are the subject of the third case study. From these bases, activities such as hiking, horse-back riding, and fishing were offered to tourists who saw forests and lakes as a source of “manly” vigor, and a retreat from effeminate urban surroundings. The building of the bungalow camps coincided with the construction of the Banff-Windermere road, a major scenic access route to several of the camps. Like hiking and riding, driving by motor-car was seen as an adventurous, active means of

exploring remote landscapes; the road reinforced the identification of the bungalow camp region as a “recreational wilderness.”

A final case study addresses railway-promoted landscapes as sites of primitive origin for the nascent nation, associated with regional First Nations.⁴¹ In the 1920s, indigenous inhabitants were presented as primitive Indians dwelling in a pristine landscape. This was apparent in the C.P.R.-sponsored Banff Indian Days, a multi-day annual event developed with the participation of the local Stoney tribe [Figure 1-15]. Highlights of the festival included a tipi village on the edge of town where Stoneys resided for its duration, and a grand parade that started at the village, moved down the main street, and led to the Banff Springs Hotel. While to some extent fostering a new appreciation for Indian culture, on the whole these structures and events positioned many aspects of indigenous culture in the timeless primitive past and denied contemporary realities of Native North American life. The events were embedded in a national discourse that claimed Indians and the landscapes they once inhabited as part of a rich heritage past that lent historical legitimacy to the nascent Canadian nation.

Methodology & Precedents

As an architectural history of Western Canadian railway landscapes, this study differs from earlier studies and conventional approaches in architectural history in several important ways. First, it focuses on the cultural landscape, a term I use to describe the

⁴¹ Note that the term “First Nations” has, since the 1980s, come into general use within Canada to refer to the indigenous peoples of North America located in what is now Canada, who are neither Arctic-situated Inuit nor Métis of mixed European-First Nations ancestry. Elder Sol Sanderson claims to have coined the term. The term “Native Americans,” which the American government and others have adopted in the United States, is not common in Canada.

intersection of the natural landscape with built forms and social life. Rather than treating individual buildings in isolation, it looks at landscapes as a whole: natural environments, transportation infrastructures, building complexes, as well as the activities that connected and animated them. Whether designed as permanent or temporary structures, buildings are seen as a sign of a constructed landscape and often, a clue that broader territorial modifications have occurred, even within locations that have been historically presented as untouched natural places.

Second, while architectural historians have tended to focus on the role of the architect as a creative author, this study approaches architecture as a process by which cultural ideas — whether popular among a general populace or championed by cultural authorities — and institutional priorities are translated into material form. Many actors are involved in this process: not only architects, but also builders, engineers, publicity agents, railway administrators, and bureaucrats. In part because of these diverse roles, the built forms examined within the scope of this research project are also atypical. Rail cars, farmsteads, national parks, and temporary festivals are considered appropriate subjects for architectural investigation insofar as they inhabit and relate to the broader landscape.⁴²

Tracing the history of railway landscapes requires a variety of strategies. Several of the landscapes described in this study still exist, allowing for on-site research. For instance, the rail line through the Rockies is still operational, and a highway through the Kootenays roughly follows the trajectory of the original Banff-Windermere road. However, important modifications

⁴² Bridges, tunnels, and dams that would normally be considered under the realm of civil engineering are an integral part of the railway landscapes examined in this study; however, they are not extensively studied here and would be a fitting subject for future research.

in usage and appearance must be accounted for. The rails through Banff now support a bi-weekly tourist train, while the main passenger line runs through Jasper to the north. The vast majority of tourists now reach the Rockies by car; those that travel by train from the east enter through Jasper, rather than Banff. With the construction and popularization of the Icefields Parkway between Lake Louise and Jasper, the Banff-Windermere road has become a less-traveled route. The landscapes viewed from trains and cars have also changed: pine forests damaged by railway fires, which matured under conservation policies in the second half of the twentieth century, have in recent years been devastated afresh by invasive pine beetles along the rail line. Forest fires that swept through the region in 2003 have destroyed growth beside a long stretch of the Banff-Windermere Highway. The hotels described in the first case study are still operational, although most have undergone extensive renovation in the years since 1929. Several of the bungalow camp structures described in the third case study are largely intact, and visits to them formed part of this research.

Evidence of certain other structures exists primarily in archival records. Canadian archives hold blueprints for C.P.R. ready-made farms and architectural drawings of several bungalow camps, including ones no longer extant.⁴³ Other key documents are more elusive. For instance, apart from an early sketch, no architects' drawings can be located for the original Banff Springs Hotel. In this case, drawings of a subsequent version of the hotel may be used to interpolate some of the

⁴³ According to a local historian, several ready-made farm buildings are still standing in Sedgewick; the Danish Canadian National Museum in Dickson, Alberta, has recently acquired one such house and is restoring it as part of their collection. Unfortunately, due to snowstorms and time constraints at the time of field research in these regions, the author was not able to visit any original ready-made farm structures. This is a priority for a future research phase.

spatial strategies of the earlier building. Archival photographs comprise an invaluable resource, giving indications of how structures appeared at discrete points in time. Site plans often are not available; in their absence, photographs are frequently useful to analyze how structures related to their landscape surroundings.

C.P.R. publicity materials play an important part in this research. In 1891, the C.P.R. started a publicity department, which was highly active throughout the period of this study. The posters, brochures, booklets, postcards, albums, and other ephemera they issued include drawn and photographed images of the buildings and landscapes in this study, along with texts describing the activities that gave them life. Many of these have been assembled in the Chung Collection, part of the University of British Columbia's Special Collections. Like all publicity materials, these present a slanted vision of how places appeared and functioned. Since landscape ideals are key to my study, these materials — with all of their biases intact — remain of significant interest. The way in which landscapes were framed, detailed, described, and inhabited by structures and people in C.P.R. publicity give important clues to the generative ideas behind the landscapes' design and construction, as well as to the cultural outlook of their target audiences. However, because of their inevitable idealizations, publicity material is used with due caution as documentary evidence. Wherever possible, images and texts that appear in publicity have been verified against other evidence. Accounts by travelers, settlers, and inhabitants provide corroboration and counterpoint to publicity materials, helping to discern how the landscapes

were actually experienced. Nonetheless, I focus here primarily on landscape ideals and defer a more in-depth study of visitor reactions and personal narratives for a future research project.⁴⁴

The C.P.R. presented itself, and was increasingly perceived by Canadians, as a national institution in the early twentieth century; the landscapes it presented as “wilderness” were celebrated by the state as nationally emblematic. Often, the federal government and C.P.R. collaborated in promoting natural landscapes as “wilderness,” as was the case in the creation of Rocky Mountains National Park. At other times, the relationship between their interests was more complex because different government jurisdictions were involved. For instance, Banff Indian Days was supported by the federal Parks Branch, but was discouraged by the Department of Indian Affairs who wanted the Aboriginals to adopt a modern agricultural lifestyle. While anchored in C.P.R. material artifacts, promotional material, and archival documentation, this study also draws at times on federal government records to understand how the ideas of wilderness promoted by the C.P.R. were echoed, modified, and appropriated by national policies and debates.

Every research approach comes with its attendant dangers: in using case studies, one risks distilling issues too neatly into universalizing, thematic chapters. This study attempts to alert readers to the ambiguities of the historical reality in several ways. One indication exists in the overlapping timeframes of the case studies. Although presented as a roughly chronological progression of wilderness concepts, the ideas highlighted in each case study co-existed and

⁴⁴The field of “popular” literature, which also would have afforded a terrain of ideological construction, is also a subject for a future project.

overlapped with ideas in other chapters. For example, ideas of a “primitive wilderness” associated with a romanticized image of Indians also appeared in bungalow camp excursions, where participants stayed in tipis and held campfire gatherings that they called “powwows.” For the sake of contextual clarity, these excursions are discussed in the context of the bungalow camps, although the ideas explored in the later chapter on “primitive wilderness” certainly apply. To take another example, the notion of a “fertile wilderness” is discussed in relation to the C.P.R. irrigation district in the Prairies, but a related notion was present in the Rockies. Tourists in this “civilized wilderness” as well as hunters in the “recreational wilderness” expected to witness a region that was naturally abundant in game animals, even while they desired to be protected from aggression by wildlife.

This study may be situated within a group of histories that examine key Canadian institutions. Along with the C.P.R., historians have been drawn to research the Hudson’s Bay Company and Royal Canadian Mounted Police among other standard-bearers for Canada. A study of this type relies on established, focused archives, and tends to deliver a more or less coherent narrative, since the organization’s leaders maintained a relatively stable vision of the country and their entity’s relation to it. In the case of the C.P.R., company presidents presented an optimistic and at times romantic view of Western Canada to an audience primarily composed of tourists and potential settlers who had not previously traveled there. Their vision of Canada often drew on foreign ideals, and in turn was projected to a primarily American and European audience. The nationalism nurtured by the C.P.R. was thus of a particular type — an image of Canada that was projected outwards, rather than to Canadians per se. Implicit in this study is a suggestion that such national constructions, though initially directed to an outside audience, were to some degree

adopted by citizens and, regardless, became part of a widely accepted national culture. However, the argument may also be advanced that important strains of national culture in Canada are anti-authoritarian in nature, and form in resistance to institutions. A study that examined the visions and architecture of competitors to the C.P.R., and the history of small businesses in Western Canada, including the design of hotels more heavily patronized by Canadians, would likely lead to a different discussion and conclusions than what is presented in this dissertation, and would form a valuable complement to the present study.

By using a broad thematic organization that cuts across geographies, private and public institutions, and landscape types, this dissertation hopes to shed new insight and perspectives not only on railway history and architecture, but on Canadian cultural ideals and wilderness history discussions more broadly. In both methodology and topic, this study finds its closest counterparts in the work of architectural historians such as Ethan Carr, Abigail Van Slyck, Christine Macy, and Sarah Bonnemaïson who have used a combination of architectural analysis and cultural-historical tools to engage a range of questions about how landscapes were constructed as wilderness areas in the United States.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), Abigail Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (University of Minnesota Press, 2006), Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Although few architectural historians have investigated landscapes characterized as “wilderness” in Canada,⁴⁶ other disciplines have made valuable contributions to examining how wilderness concepts were supported and defined within the country. Patricia Jasen has documented tourism to natural sites in Ontario using a combination of historical, cultural, and aesthetic analyses, while Leslie Bella has studied the development of a national park system from a preservationist viewpoint. Environmental historians including George Colpitts, Tina Loo, and Janet Foster have offered insight on wildlife use and regulation in Canada, in the process elucidating prevalent cultural ideologies of wilderness. The role of the visual arts in the formation of a wilderness identity for Canada has been a rich site of study, with recent notable contributions from Leslie Dawn and Gerta Moray.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Exceptions are Edward Mills, a parks historian who has worked on rustic architecture in the Western national parks; Alexander Wilson, who includes Canadian examples in his excellent survey of the culture of nature in North America; and George Kapelos, who has offered a framework for analyzing landscape in contemporary Canadian architecture. However, to my knowledge no book-length study examines the connections between architecture and Canadian wilderness. See Edward Mills, “The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks,” *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* 18, no. 3-4 (1993), George Kapelos, *Interpretations of Nature: Contemporary Canadian Architecture, Landscape and Urbanism* (Kleinburg: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1994), Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez*.

⁴⁷ Studies of federal park and wildlife policies, which are tightly related to ideas of wilderness, include Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002). For a history of the early parks from an economic and political standpoint, see Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987). The case of wilderness tourism in Ontario is addressed in Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). Folk tourism in the Atlantic provinces is addressed in McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. For the idea of wilderness in Canadian art, see Gerta Moray, *Unsettling Encounters: First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), ———, “Wilderness, Modernity and Aboriginality in the Paintings of Emily Carr, 1899-

In addition to considering these studies, the dissertation also builds on the work of scholars who have examined cultural projects undertaken by the C.P.R. Lynda Jessup's study of railway-sponsored artists in the early twentieth century is particularly informative.⁴⁸ Additional groundwork is offered by research on railway hotel architecture by Harold Kalman and Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, studies of the C.P.R.'s tourism programs by Ted Hart, and analyses of C.P.R. festivals by Janet McNaughton, Stuart Henderson, and Laurie Meijer Drees.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, much work remains to be done. As a complement to the conventional architectural histories of railway hotels provided by Kalman and Liscombe, and the studies grounded in art history given by Jessup, this study hopes to introduce the new disciplinary perspective on existing material, along with bringing original archival research to light.

1913," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 22, no. 2 (1998), John O'Brian and Peter White, *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007). I do not examine the works of Emily Carr in this study, since Carr's work is associated exclusively with the Northwest Coast, rather than the Rockies and Prairies with which I am concerned. As noted earlier, wilderness themes in literature have also been studied, with perhaps the most influential work by Northrup Frye and Margaret Atwood, and more recent scholarship by such authors as David Bentley and Ewen McGregor.

⁴⁸ Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and 'The Business of Becoming a Nation'."

⁴⁹ Harold D. Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada*, Studies in Architectural History (Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria Maltwood Museum, 1968), Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, "Nationalism or Cultural Imperialism? The Château Style in Canada," *Architectural History* 36 (1993), Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*, ———, "See this World before the Next: Tourism and the CPR.", Janet Elizabeth McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-30" (M.A., Memorial University, 1982), Stuart Henderson, "'While there is Still Time...': J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 1 (2005). Also see chapter 3 in McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-30", Laurie Meijer Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945" (M.A., University of Calgary, 1991).

The idea of wilderness continues to be a central feature of Canadian nationalism. Although over 80 percent of Canadians today live in urban settings, prominent national symbols such as the maple leaf, canoe, beaver, and vast emptiness of the Great White North continue to prevail. As one scholar puts it, wilderness remains the “*sine qua non* of what we have chosen to identify as Canadian culture.”⁵⁰ As this research shows, many of these ideas can be traced back to the Canadian Pacific Railway’s development of Western Canada in the decades spanning the turn of the twentieth century. Architecture was used by the railway to construct and market Western landscapes as wilderness areas of national significance. The history of their programs offers an important pathway for understanding the character and sources of the powerful, multi-faceted ideas of wilderness that continue to appeal to the Canadian imagination today. The reality of our modern world continues to require the pristine landscapes imagined by the contemporary wilderness idea, and in order to understand the concept of wilderness today, the history of Canadian wilderness ideas merits closer examination.

⁵⁰ John Wadland, "Wilderness and Culture," in *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History*, ed. Chad Gaffield and Pam Gaffield (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 14. For a view of Canadian architecture seen through the lens of wilderness, see Lisa Rochon, *Up North: Where Canada's Architecture Meets the Land* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2005).

Chapter 2

A Civilized Wilderness: Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies, 1885 - 1912

One of the chief attractions of the trip is the fact that one may journey there and back in civilized luxury, and while enjoying the scenes, at the very noses of the wonderful glaciers themselves, be comfortable and remain in close touch with the world.⁵¹

Early in Canada's history, ideas of wilderness and national identity coincided in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. A section of the Rockies was designated by the Canadian parliament as the country's first federal park reservation in 1885, and over the next two decades was enlarged to assume its current contours as Banff National Park.⁵² The Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) was a key instigator of this development - not only providing initial access to the area, but also identifying it as a park reservation, building its landmark hotels, and popularizing it as a tourist destination and iconic Canadian landscape. Its extended development and promotional campaign emphasized the establishment of civilization in the wild, featuring first-class rail carriages and luxurious hotels in a landscaped park setting. These constructions were promoted as comfort-filled environments that framed views of the spectacular alpine setting and acted as markers of refinement within it. The railway company and government thus celebrated a civilized form of

⁵¹ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The Challenge of the Mountains* (1910).

⁵² I use the term "Rockies" in its colloquial sense, to refer to a topographical region composed of two major sections: the Canadian Rocky Mountains proper, to the east, and the Columbia Mountains group to the west. The Canadian Rockies are located along the border of British Columbia and Alberta, and continue south into Montana. Further to the west, the Columbia Mountains group includes the Selkirk, Purcell, Monashee, and Cariboo mountain ranges.

wilderness: nature visibly inhabited and improved by the most advanced infrastructures and amenities of the time.

This chapter examines the C.P.R.'s involvement in developing the Canadian Rockies as a "civilized wilderness," focusing on the period from 1885, the date of the railway's completion, to 1912, when its resort hotel network was effectively completed and substantial renovations of the Banff Springs Hotel, the iconic heart of the chain, commenced. It was during this time that the Rockies became identified as a key Canadian landscape by North American artists, officials, and tourists, as well as European visitors.

Aesthetic and scenic considerations were paramount in how the C.P.R. operated and equipped its railway line, depicted the Rockies in its publicity, and designed its buildings in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The arrival of the railway and C.P.R.-led designation of the park in 1887 also instigated extensive reshaping of the natural landscape. This chapter is structured through first examining how the C.P.R. shaped and presented the landscape of the Rockies that its trains passed through, and next looking at the way it designed buildings to inhabit that landscape. The still-iconic Banff Springs Hotel is examined in detail as an instantiation of the C.P.R.'s aspirations for the region. European and American conventions of alpine and scenic tourism set the standard for the C.P.R.'s reshaping of the Rockies, and provide valuable context for the discussion. As the "Canadian Pacific Rockies" became known as an international tourist destination, the idea of the area as a civilized wilderness was established and became inseparable from the luxurious railway structures and manicured park landscape. The prime symbol of this perspective — the trademark style of the railway hotels — was in turn appropriated by federal

authorities as characteristic of an emerging Anglo-Canadian national identity modeled on the principles of a civilized wilderness.

A Scenic Wilderness

When Canada's first transcontinental rail line bridged the Rockies in 1885, C.P.R. vice-president and general manager William Cornelius Van Horne recognized the region's tourist potential.

"Since we can't export the scenery," he reportedly declared, "we shall have to import the tourists."⁵³ Van Horne personally took charge of an advertising campaign launched with the inauguration of a daily transcontinental passenger service on June 28, 1886. Streamer-festooned billboards in Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa gave the new service exotic flair, while abroad, the Rockies became emblematic of the railway as a whole.⁵⁴ Setting the tone for future publicity campaigns, a cover story in the *Illustrated London News* on the newly opened railway featured its Western landscapes exclusively, showing trains approaching the entrance pass to the Rocky

⁵³ Quoted in John Murray Gibbon, *Steel of Empire: The Romantic History of the Canadian Pacific, the Northwest Passage of Today* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935), 304. Van Horne rose to president in 1888, a role he held until his retirement in 1899. Throughout his career with the C.P.R. he was heavily involved in personally making decisions surrounding the railway's promotional campaigns and tourism infrastructure, as were his successors in the role, Thomas Shaughnessy, who held the presidency until 1918, and Edward Beatty, who led the company until his death in 1943. For the most part, decisions about regional matters (such as the administration of the ready-made farm program or the sponsorship of Banff Indian Days) were made by locally-based managers with the company. A more extensive discussion of the decision-making process within the C.P.R. is planned as a future research project, and will involve a detailed examination of the papers and correspondence from the past presidents.

⁵⁴ Marc H. Choko and David L. Jones, *Canadian Pacific Posters, 1883-1963* (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1988), 23.

Mountains, atop a wooden trestle bridge over roiling Surprise Creek in the Selkirks, and high above a stream in the shadow of Mount Stephen [Fig. 2-1].⁵⁵

Beginning with the launch of service in 1886 and continuing over the ensuing decades, the railway company recruited the country's leading photographers, writers, and painters to depict Western Canada, granting them free travel passes to do so.⁵⁶ The work of artists such as John Fraser and photographers such as William MacFarlane Notman and Professor Oliver Buell were reproduced as engravings and used in C.P.R. publicity [Figure 2-2]. Beyond the C.P.R.'s own publicity, the images it sponsored appeared as illustrations in popular magazines and newspapers, and were further disseminated by the authors and artists themselves.⁵⁷ In the case of

⁵⁵ "The Canadian Pacific Railway," *The Illustrated London News* LXXXIX, no. 2466 (1886). The original photos were commissioned by the C.P.R. and taken by the William MacFarlane Notman of the prestigious Montreal-based Notman firm. See Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 38-46.

⁵⁶ Notable artists in this program include painters John Hammond, William Brymer, John Fraser and photographers Benjamin Baltzly, William MacFarlane Notman and Professor Oliver Buell. More detailed discussions concerning the so-called "railway art school" can be found in Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, Robert Graham, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada," in *Thirteen Essays on Photography*, ed. Geoffrey James (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990), William Carey McKee and Georgeen Klassen, *Trail of Iron: The CPR and the Birth of the West, 1880-1930* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 48-54, Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and 'The Business of Becoming a Nation'."

⁵⁷ For instance, images of Western Canada provided by the C.P.R. frequently appeared in books and magazines such as the *Canadian Illustrated News*. In addition to placing advertisements, by 1916, the publicity branch also supplied articles to daily and weekly newspapers domestically and abroad. At that time, the C.P.R.'s publicity department included an exhibition staff that mounted displays for locations ranging from Banff to Chicago, which often included taxidermy samples of big game from the Canadian Rockies. The department additionally produced lectures, films, and lantern slides to promote agricultural settlement and investment. These agendas sometimes overlapped with their tourism programs: a 1916 annual report notes an illustrated lecture series on Western Canadian resources given at the Banff Springs Hotel to persuade

painters, a discerning audience was targeted. As Lynda Jessup explains, the idea was “to establish the value of the region [...] in the eyes of an urban elite that, like the artists it patronized, possessed the cultural capital necessary for discriminating between different landscapes.”⁵⁸ The company eschewed direct purchase of most painted works, preferring to reap benefits from their display at exhibitions in central Canada and abroad [Fig 2-3].⁵⁹ Through these images, as well as material authored by Van Horne and the railway’s publicity department, the alpine region was promoted as a flagship destination alongside long-established urban nodes in Eastern Canada such as Montreal and Quebec City.

The aesthetic experience of the alpine landscape drew on several kinds of precedent. One facet of the C.P.R.’s publicity was presenting the railway journey itself as an opportunity to view the landscape while in motion. As a 1912 brochure explained, a sleeping-coach passenger would find “no expensive side-trips necessary. The Canadian Pacific Railway is built directly through the Canadian National Park and the famous Canadian Rockies. Over 500 continuous miles of the most magnificent scenery in the world may be viewed from the trains.”⁶⁰ The train journey itself — and the views made possible from it — was presented as an enjoyable tourist experience.

wealthy visitors to invest in the region. See Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, "Report of Publicity Branch," (1916). Glenbow, Canadian Pacific Railway Land Settlement and Development Fonds (hereafter LSDF), M2269-580.

⁵⁸ Lynda Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change..." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2002): 150.

⁵⁹ Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and 'The Business of Becoming a Nation'," 147-248.

⁶⁰ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Eastern Tours through the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (1912).

This valuation of movement through landscapes echoed British notions of picturesque travel popularized in the late eighteenth century. Contrary to contemporary views that associate the origins of the picturesque with static paintings, motion was integral to the earliest conceptions of the picturesque. English clergyman and author William Gilpin initiated the genre of picturesque travel writing through tour journals, first circulated in manuscript, and in 1782, published an aquatint-illustrated book describing a series of scenic landscapes encountered on a trip along the Welsh river Wye [Figure 2-4]. Celebrating the process of travel over its destination, Gilpin's trip was undertaken for the unprecedented purpose of experiencing the "picturesque." He meticulously recorded his observations on the subject, noting the effect of compositions and objects that "please from some quality being capable of being illustrated in painting."⁶¹ The "mazy course" of the river generated a proto-cinematic vision, with constantly changing perspective views of the river ahead framed by the side screens of the river banks. To capture this sense of motion, Gilpin's account presented a succession of views as seen from the moving vessel.

As Gilpin's ideas gained in popularity, the notion of picturesque travel became associated with the newest transportation technologies of the time — canal boats and steamships. In contrast, the railways that began to dominate transportation systems in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century

⁶¹ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape: to which is Added a Poem, On Landscape Painting* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), 3, ———, *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770*, 2nd ed. (London: R. Blamire, 1789).

had a more difficult relationship with the picturesque. Cultural historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch has observed how views were changed by the technology of the locomotive: due to their relatively high travel velocity, railway passengers saw the foreground as a single blur and were forced to concentrate on the background. Their vision was reduced to the perception of large objects contained therein, such as mountain-tops. Schivelbusch coined the term “panoramic perception” to describe this accelerated version of picturesque travel, since passengers who had visited 19th century panoramas — cylindrical paintings viewed from inside a drum — were more familiar with this mode of viewing landscapes in motion. As he describes,

The depth perception of pre-industrial consciousness was, literally, lost. [...] Panoramic perception, in contrast to traditional perception, no longer belonged to the same space as the perceived objects: the traveler saw the objects, landscapes, etc. *through* the apparatus which moved him through the world. That machine and the motion it created became integrated into his visual perception: thus he could only see things in motion.⁶²

This diminished visual perception could be disturbing, and Europeans regarded the first train journeys as a source of discomfort and disorientation relative to earlier stagecoach travel.⁶³

European railways were seen as projectile-like devices whose primary purpose was to reach a given destination, rather than provide a pleasant journey. But even if it was not a pleasant experience in itself, train travel was a valuable means to reach scenic destinations where views could be enjoyed from a stationary position. Beginning in 1851, Thomas Cook collaborated with continental railways to offer excursions to locations including world exhibitions, seaside resorts,

⁶² Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1986), 63-64.

⁶³ See *Ibid.*, chapter 4.

and eventually the Swiss Alps and Italy.⁶⁴ Sometimes travel took place during the night, averting disorienting views entirely; otherwise, the ubiquitous practice of reading on trains allowed travelers to avoid looking out of the windows.⁶⁵

Certain shorter rail lines were designed specifically for scenic tourism. For instance, the Austrian Semmeringbahn opened in 1854, connecting the Imperial city of Vienna with the Trieste seaport and offering spectacular, controlled views of the Semmering pass en route. However, elite taste preferred to take in these views from a stable place: an anecdote has it that Austrian emperor Franz Joseph I ordered the train to be stopped on its first voyage, so that His Majesty could enjoy the view more carefully.⁶⁶ In the 1870s, railway companies in Austria and Switzerland created cable cars and cog railroads that made mountain peaks much more accessible. On these vehicles, ascents and descents were carefully controlled, engendering a novel visual experience at a relatively slow speed compared to standard railways.

Promoting railway travel as an aesthetic experience in its own right was more successful in the North American context. In contrast to European lines, American carriages and sleeper cars were

⁶⁴ Tours to Switzerland and Mont Blanc, launched in 1863, targeted a new professional class that aspired to emulate the upper-class Grand Tour; these were the first of Cook's campaigns to focus on alpine landscapes. Edmund Swinglehurst, *The Romantic Journey: The Story of Thomas Cook and Victorian Travel*, 1st U.S. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 35.

⁶⁵ Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, 64.

⁶⁶ This example is discussed in Thomas Zeller, *Consuming Landscapes: The View from the Road in the United States and Germany* (work in progress). Professor Zeller kindly shared a draft of part of this study with me.

built for long-distance, multi-day travel and noted for their greater comfort and safety. Due to advances in technology and the relatively low cost of land, American rail lines tended to follow the contours of the land more closely than straight-line European railways. Because of their greater comfort and this closer physical relationship to the terrain, rail companies in the New World could credibly promote the rail journeys in themselves as desirable and enjoyable ways of viewing the landscape, rather than focusing only on final travel destinations. This idea was advantageous for passengers to entertain, since they needed to endure long-distance travel over sparsely populated areas. Following the completion of the first transcontinental lines in 1883, competing railways in the United States advanced train travel as picturesque, issuing guidebooks promoting the scenic attractions along their lines.⁶⁷ The Canadian Pacific Railroad followed suit, building on the links being forged between railways, tourism, and scenic travel.

The Rockies' dramatic mountain ranges were highly visible, even from the windows of a moving train. Meanwhile, an interest in alpine scenery drew upon earlier aesthetic notions. As Marjorie Nicolson argues, until the seventeenth century, mountains were regarded as unattractive, desolate objects in Western culture; it was only during the Enlightenment that they were reevaluated as objects of scientific interest and sources of spiritual awe.⁶⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, mountains had become icons of romantic landscape for many Europeans. This approbation continued through the nineteenth century and formed the basis for the Victorians' scientific and

⁶⁷ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 21.

⁶⁸ The sea was reappraised in a similar manner during this period, sparking seaside resorts along with mountain retreats.

touristic interest in landscapes such as the Rockies.⁶⁹ Mountains were admired in part for their ability to evoke the sublime. As discussed in the introduction, objects that conjured the sublime according to Burke were characterized by such qualities as obscurity, power, vastness, magnificence, roughness, and suddenness. The massive, barren rock faces of mountains — such as those found in the Alps or Rockies, particularly when accentuated by intense light effects or clothed in darkness — were powerful sources of what Burke described as the natural sublime.⁷⁰

While by the 1880s, the sublime was no longer a novel idea, the concept arguably persisted in the Canadian context. A colonial mentality that held in Canada resulted in the espousal of well-established European ideas, such as the picturesque and sublime, in order to cast Canada as a civilized territory with a deep-rooted culture. By evoking the familiar concept of the sublime, railway literature set the Rockies alongside well-established sites such as the European Alps and the North American Niagara Falls, without diminishing the appeal of the mountains as a newly discovered territory — a notion compatible with the concept of the sublime and inherent to the idea of the area as a “wilderness.”

Adding yet another facet to the area’s appeal were therapeutic health claims attributed to the hot springs near Banff and to mountain environments more generally. The practices of bathing in and drinking water from natural mineral hot springs were popularly believed to cure a multitude

⁶⁹ Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959).

⁷⁰ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, J.T. Boulton ed. (London: Routledge, 1958), 91, 201.

of health problems, and since medieval times, spas were established at mineral springs in Europe. The trend peaked in popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as luxurious establishments in Europe as well as North America provided access to hot-springs. Beyond being celebrated as therapeutic cure-alls, the springs became the sites of popular resorts for the upper classes.⁷¹ At the end of the eighteenth century, health-giving properties were also attributed to the effects of fresh mountain air, spurring an influx of tourism to locations in the Swiss Alps. As historian Paul Bernard writes, it was believed that:

Healthy people could build up reserves of good health simply by breathing in large quantities of good air, and thus fortify themselves against the onslaughts of disease when they returned to urban surroundings, and mountain air was, by common consent, notoriously pure. [...] Whatever considerations such arguments rested on [...] they succeeded in establishing an identification between countryside and health in the minds of the European upper classes — which was, in the course of the nineteenth century, to become pervasive.⁷²

In particular, mountain air was thought to be a cure for tuberculosis, leading to the establishment of sanatoria at alpine locations in both the Alps and, eventually, in the Canadian Rockies. The concurrence of hot springs and an alpine setting made the Canadian Rockies an ideal location for health-seekers, and the location was easily associated with elite resort destinations in Europe and the United States.

⁷¹ Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 112, Cindy Sondik Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 17.

⁷² Paul P. Bernard, *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1978), 88.

Taming the Sublime

The C.P.R. depicted the Rockies as an untouched natural region by associating the mountains with the daring natural sublime and with the curative properties of remote environments.

However, they simultaneously — and perhaps paradoxically for today’s sensibilities — promoted travel to the Western alpine landscapes with promises of comfortable access and luxurious accommodation. “One of the chief attractions of the trip is the fact that one may journey there and back in civilized luxury,” noted one C.P.R. brochure, “and while enjoying the scenes, at the very noses of the wonderful glaciers themselves, be comfortable and remain in close touch with the world.”⁷³ The wilderness ideas projected onto the Canadian Rockies were not only compatible with “civilized luxury,” but in fact, the technologies and amenities of civilization were integral to the way the “wild” Rockies would be experienced by visitors.

This attitude may be traced back to early C.P.R. descriptions of travel in the Rockies.

Repeatedly, passengers were invited to admire harsh alpine landscapes from the shelter of luxuriously appointed railway cars. The railway was depicted as a civilizing force that had conquered the brutal mountains by forging a path through the seemingly impenetrable terrain. In aesthetic terms, the mountains were presented as terrifying, sublime objects, which were to some extent tamed into picturesque scenery by the movement of the train through the landscape.

This narrative device first appeared in the C.P.R.’s annotated timetables, issued soon after the completion of the transcontinental link in 1885. In these guides, which tracked the course of the

⁷³ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The Challenge of the Mountains*.

railroad journey from one end of the line to the other, Eastern Canadian stops were described in terms of their history and industries. However, as the narrative moved west where settlement was sparse, natural landscapes received more attention. The Rocky Mountains, a highlight of the journey, were depicted as perceived from the moving train. “Very striking and magnificent grows the prospect as we penetrate into the mountains at last, each curve of the line bringing fresh vistas of endless peaks rolling away before and around us,” the brochure read, quoting a letter from the Prime Minister’s wife Lady Agnes Macdonald, who journeyed across the continent in 1886. “Every turn becomes a fresh mystery, for some huge mountain seems to stand right across our way, barring it for miles, with a stern face frowning down upon us; and yet a few minutes later we find the giant has been encircled and conquered, and soon lies far away in another direction.”⁷⁴ The mountain landscape as described by Lady Macdonald was not a static image, but a succession of views experienced as “prospects” from the moving train. The train’s relentless progress transformed the mountains from elements evoking a mild version of the terrifying sublime to entities that had been “encircled and conquered,” and thus made into a succession of non-threatening picturesque views.

A contrast between rough mountains and a civilizing railway also emerges in James Carmichael’s account of an 1888 transcontinental trip. “There they were, the most gigantic and roughest mountains I ever looked at, and so close to you that you felt instinctively as if you were within walls,” he wrote, placing the mountains definitively into the category of the harsh sublime rather than the gentle picturesque. “No sloping sides or graceful peaks — nothing but chaos piled

⁷⁴ Quoted in Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 27. Also see copy of the original letter in Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal (hereafter CP Archives).

up on chaos, till lost in the early morning clouds [...] I never saw or hoped to see anything so awfully grand.” Impressed by the railway’s ability to traverse this kind of terrain, Carmichael conjectured “a deadly feud” between the landscape and the railroad. “How dare you come near me, what right have you here [...] haunting my course with your cruel shadow, and at times even running by my side and driving me into narrow bounds,” he imagined the “wild” Kicking Horse river protesting to the railroad, “I hate you.”⁷⁵ Like Lady Macdonald’s text, Carmichael’s dynamic narrative showcased the technologically advanced railway overcoming its impressively brutal surroundings.

Douglas Sladen’s account of a transcontinental journey also emphasized the power of the railway within challenging terrain. From Calgary, he spied the “long line of the Rocky Mountains [...] filling the horizon west and south with a mighty wall, whose battlements are alternate rock and snow.” Seen from the moving train, “then flow by mountain upon mountain like waves of the sea, stormy white waves round Mount Edith, waves as rosy as the rocks of Devon on the opposite side, dominated by the climax of the castellated formation, the great isolate Castle Mountain, rising like a veritable castle of the Middle Ages.”⁷⁶ By contrast, the railway moved through this heavy, ponderous landscape with an almost ethereal lightness. Travelers “fly past” the scenery as adeptly, “the railway crosses and recrosses the torrent [of the Kicking Horse

⁷⁵ James Carmichael, *A Holiday Trip, Montreal to Victoria and Return, Via the Canadian Pacific Railway. Midsummer, 1888*, Railfare reprint (Montreal: Railfare Enterprises, 1971), 19-20. The C.P.R. printed and distributed Carmichael’s narrative as part of their promotional literature, even though its cover proclaimed it to be intended “for private circulation.”

⁷⁶ Douglas Sladen, *On the Cars and Off* (London: Ward, Locke & Bowden, 1895), 277-79.

River] like a salmon fisher, to utilize every available ledge.”⁷⁷ C.P.R. constructions by the siding also helped to tame the wild landscape. Right under one mountain Sladen found the “little Field Hotel, a pleasant chalet,” while further along, a railroad working camp made the “weird” town of Field “picturesque.”⁷⁸

The juxtaposition of the high-technology railway with a sublime background and safe cottages was a compositional technique that also pervaded the text and images of tone of the C.P.R.’s most substantial and long-standing tourist brochures. First issued in 1887 and appearing in revised versions up to 1912, *The New Highway to the East* narrated a journey along the entire railway — initially an eight-day-long trip — but identified the Rocky Mountains as a climax of the journey.⁷⁹ “But you are impatient to see the mountains,” it stated near the beginning, before asking the reader’s patience to endure a narration that traced the westward journey from Montreal.⁸⁰ When the mountains were finally reached, their description included both natural and human elements. “The mountains would be oppressive in their grandeur, their solemnity and their solitude, but for a mining town or a sportsman’s tent now and then, which give a human

⁷⁷ Ibid., 282.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 281.

⁷⁹ After its initial appearance as *The New Highway to the East*, the brochure was subsequently titled *The New Highway to the Orient* and issued in multiple editions from 1889 to 1912. The text and images were updated to include features such as new hotels, but the core text of the document remained the same from year to year.

⁸⁰ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East, Across the Mountains, Prairies & Rivers of Canada* (1887), 15.

interest to the scene,” the brochure stated.⁸¹ In early editions, each of the lavishly prepared engravings of the area included a railway locomotive in motion, set against a backdrop of impressive mountain scenery.⁸² The cover image of an 1893 version is exemplary: it shows a train crossing a trestle bridge that joins two mountain peaks over a cascading waterway in a ravine far below [Figure 2-5]. A low viewpoint gives the railroad a prominent position in the top half of the composition. This vantage point emphasizes the dominant power of the railway over the rugged terrain of mountains, cliffs and streams. In the image, the railway and the civilization it represented graphically triumph over a dangerously wild landscape.

Similarly, publicity images in later brochures consistently depicted mountain peaks in conjunction with signs of advanced civilization. In a 1901 brochure advertising Summer Tours on the C.P.R., for instance, towering mountain peaks are dramatically rendered with misty clouds and stark light effects, coding them as sublime [Figure 2-6]. However, elaborate hotels are situated in the midground of these images: Mount Stephen House under Mount Stephen, and Glacier House at the foot of Mount Sir Donald. Although dwarfed by the mountains, the hotels are bathed in light and are neat, sturdy-looking constructions. Mountain peaks are an element in all but two images of landscapes in the brochure, and of the twelve mountain views, ten include a clear sign of inhabitation — a hotel, C.P.R. lake steamer, or townsite; one additional mountain view replicates the view as seen from Lake Louise Chalet. As with the cover image of the 1893

⁸¹ Ibid., 35.

⁸² To ensure the highest quality of printed images, the C.P.R. engaged the American Bank Note Company of New York City to print its brochures, using sophisticated fine-line steel and copper engraving techniques employed for printing currency. See Choko and Jones, *Canadian Pacific Posters, 1883-1963*, 25.

brochure, the Rockies were identified as a sublime wilderness, but simultaneously, the railway and its developments were positioned as overcoming its latent threats. Train travelers came face-to-face with mountains that had been tamed by the railway, and thus rendered fit and safe for easy visual delectation.

Constructing Views

Regardless of whether they stopped on their journey, all visitors experienced their natural surroundings in views from the train. Although construction requirements rather than scenic vistas were the primary considerations in locating and building the main rail line, the C.P.R. maximized the scenic potential of the route once it was established. Technical devices associated with the train facilitated passengers' experience of the landscape. For instance, at least fifty-three wooden snow sheds protected the train and tracks from winter avalanches.⁸³ While in most cases, passengers were plunged into darkness when the train passed through sheds, in the most scenic areas parallel summer tracks were laid [Figure 2-7]. These permitted summertime views of major landscape features such as the Illecillewaet Glacier and the approach to the C.P.R.'s Glacier House hotel.⁸⁴ By 1895, viewing platforms were also constructed at scenic locations such as Albert Canyon, where the train stopped for passengers to disembark and take in the view.⁸⁵

Landscape viewing was a priority in the design of the train cars themselves. The first-class sleeping cars, commissioned by Van Horne to avoid the expense of leasing Pullman cars, were

⁸³ Sladen, *On the Cars and Off*, 288.

⁸⁴ Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 12.

⁸⁵ Sladen, *On the Cars and Off*, 292.

equipped as “luxuriously furnished drawing-room[s], well ventilated and lighted, with large plate glass windows giving a wide field of vision.”⁸⁶ However, side-long views through regular cars were not optimal, since the scenery through these windows passed by quickly. As one tourist described,

The eye loses power of discrimination, so fast do grandeur of form and beauty in details crowd upon the view and demand attention as the train speeds through gorge and past mountain, giving here a vast outlook, and there an interior glimpse, then exchanging it for a new one too rapidly for appreciation.⁸⁷

Preference was given to panoramic vistas, which important travelers could obtain by means of passes to ride on the engine in the front of early trains. This meant sitting on an iron seat outside, feet dangling over the cow-catcher bar at the front of the train [Figure 2-8]. Lady Macdonald rode the “catcher” nearly 600 miles from Lake Louise to Vancouver, despite her husband’s dismissal of the feat as “rather ridiculous.”⁸⁸ A small, open-air platform at the tail-end of the train provided similar, if somewhat less adventurous opportunities for open-air, 180-degree views for regular passengers.⁸⁹ As a British traveler described, “out on the platform of the hindmost car we most of us assembled and spent hours, scarcely speaking to one another [...] all of our attention was bestowed upon the awe-inspiring scene.”⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Carmichael, *A Holiday Trip, Montreal to Victoria and Return, Via the Canadian Pacific Railway. Midsummer, 1888*, 4.

⁸⁷ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Summer Tours by the Canadian Pacific Railway* (1894), 89.

⁸⁸ Bart Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel* (Banff: Summerthought, 1973), 24.

⁸⁹ Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 70.

⁹⁰ Edward Roper, *By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada* (London & Calcutta: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891), 139.

To help overcome the disorientation of side-long views, new cars were specifically designed as viewing pavilions. By 1890, three mountain observation cars added to the service consisted of ordinary day coaches with the area between the belt rail and roof left open and an open-air balcony at the back. Douglas Sladen described these as “open like a verandah,” but also noted how with the soot and dirt of the journey, “you feel as if you were being hosed with dust” and complained that the views were limited to “looking backward,” as opposed to the preferred and more intuitive mode of looking forward at the upcoming scenery. Furthermore, private cars were sometimes tacked on behind, further limiting the view [Figure 2-9].⁹¹

The mountain observation cars were supplemented by four new enclosed observation cars in 1902, which resembled large cabooses, with a raised glass cupola at each end and a glassed-in central section [Figure 2-10]. Although little documentation could be located about the design, presumably passengers could climb to an elevated section within the cupolas that allowed them 360-degree views.⁹² By 1909, the railway also introduced the so-called “Motor Car” to carry sightseers between Banff and Laggan (Lake Louise) stations — a trip between two scenic railway hotels that allowed visitors to continue traveling on the C.P.R. main line at the other end [Figure 2-11]. According to a company report,

The car resembles an open street car, and will comfortably seat 14 persons, although possibly 20 could be accommodated without crowding. The seats are upholstered in leather, there is a moveable roof, and in the two ends are large plate

⁹¹ Sladen, *On the Cars and Off*, 225-26.

⁹² A version persists in 2011 in the form of the “Skyline Car” and “Park Car.” These feature an upper observation deck with a domed, transparent roof to offer 360-degree views.

glass windows, thus affording unobstructed views of the magnificent scenery of the Bow Valley. The motive power is supplied by an electro-gasoline engine.⁹³

Starting from 1909, lounge and compartment-style observation cars were improved to give better view of the scenery. A 1911 brochure notes that these cars were open to all sleeping car passengers, and “are always attached to the rear end of mountain trains so as to allow an unbroken view of the scenery”; since they were intended as a rear car they presumably included windows or an open-air viewing area at the tail.⁹⁴ The cars were equipped with extra-large windows to facilitate landscape viewing. As a 1912 brochure explained:

The observation windows in the C.P.R. observation compartment cars have a clear window space of 36 inches vertically from bottom of window shade (when raised to its utmost) to window sill. We are not aware of any other line whose observation car windows give more than 24 inches clear space vertically. The results are an unobstructed clear line of vision constantly of our mountain scenery, no matter where [the] passenger sits. The man sitting on the side of [a] C.P.R. car elevated for the time by the outer rail of the curve, never loses a portion of the view — a 24-inch space would not accomplish this result. Just one of the conveniences for which our line is noted.⁹⁵

As early as 1912, completely open observation cars were coupled to the rear of compartment observation cars during summer months, allowing open-air views of the scenery [Figure 2-12]. Since oil-burning engines were now used, no cinders were produced, which would have endangered earlier open-air platforms.⁹⁶ However, sheltered observation areas were preferred and soon reintroduced: from 1927 to 1929, mountain observation cars with roofs and glassed-in central portions were used, so that passengers would have a place of refuge from fumes when the

⁹³ Quoted in Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 99.

⁹⁴ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bulletin* 29, July 1911.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 37, March 1912.

⁹⁶ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bulletin* 102, July 1917.

trains passed through tunnels. Afterwards, solarium-lounge cars were created that were glassed all the way around, offering unprecedented access to sunlight and views, along with protection from the elements [Figure 2-13]. “Thus the traveler will not only be able to see in sharp detail the beauties of the country through which he is passing, but he will receive the full benefits of healthful sunlight into the bargain,” wrote company press representative Earle Hooker of the new cars.⁹⁷

Various viewing frameworks were thus offered by train designs. 180-degree views of the approaching landscape could be had from the front cow-catcher seats on early locomotives, or the retreating landscape could be viewed from partially enclosed cars and open air platforms attached to the back of later trains. A variety of enclosed and semi-enclosed cars offered shelter from the elements and from the dust and fumes of the train itself, while simultaneously seeking to maximize views, whether through glassed-in roof sections and cupolas, or extra-large windows. The larger windows and opportunities for viewing the approaching or retreating landscape diminished the disorientation of side-long views with which Schivelbusch was concerned, by providing alternative vantage points or a larger frame of vision.

Inside the observation cars, an array of amenities and services created an atmosphere of luxury that contrasted with the rugged landscape outside. The two sleeping cars on the inaugural run of the transcontinental passenger service reportedly cost a staggering twelve thousand dollars each to outfit. The *Montreal Gazette* described the results:

⁹⁷ Quoted in David Laurence Jones, *Famous Name Trains* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 2006), 96.

The sleeping cars are unexcelled for luxurious comfort and refined taste. The woodwork throughout is solid mahogany, elaborately carved and the body of the interior is of satinwood, exquisitely inlaid with mother-of-pearl and brass figures. The ventilators are of colored Venetian glass of beautiful opalescent hues, the windows are hung with heavy curtains and the floor is covered with Turkey carpets of finest manufacture.⁹⁸

One of the seventy-five foot cars, the Honolulu — an exotic name that perhaps alluded to the C.P.R.'s rapidly growing worldwide travel network — featured a private stateroom with the ultimate indulgence: a bath, even though there was no running hot water to fill it. Eventually, fourteen sleeping cars would be added to fulfill the demands of the transcontinental service. Meanwhile, the equally lavish dining car, Holyrood, included a silver service said to be valued at three thousand dollars; the 1886 Buckingham featured tooled leather benches, plush carpeting, bronze and brass ceiling lamps, white linens and fresh flowers [Figure 2-14].⁹⁹

The introduction of seven-day service on the cross-country loop in 1899 brought new standards of luxury. Dining cars dubbed “Miramar” and “Tuileries” used individual upholstered chairs rather than bench seats and featured ornate drapery, distinctive wood moldings, ornamented lighting fixtures, extra-wide windows, and fine glass and chinaware. Sleeping cars named after French châteaux — from Chantilly to Vincennes — were rendered in a Louis XV style with ivory and gold finishes, and exteriors constructed of Honduras mahogany varnished to a high red gloss.¹⁰⁰ Each was divided into sections that could be made down into berths, two large

⁹⁸ *Montreal Gazette*, June 29 1886, quoted in *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11, 16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 51, Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 99.

staterooms with ensuite bathroom facilities, and a plush main saloon.¹⁰¹ The car named Rochelle displayed baroque embellishments, with highly ornamented upholstery seats and carpets, and gleaming glass, brass, and wood detailing [Figure 2-15].

These lush interiors generated a remarkable contrast between the trains and the alpine landscapes through which they passed. “Inside [the rail car] all is luxury; outside is Nature in her most rugged mode,” observed one British tourist.¹⁰² Seen through the frame of large train windows, the viewer perceived a wilderness environment that was safely outside the train, while being maintained with an array of creature comforts inside their compartment.

As tourists in what might be termed a “civilized wilderness,” early train passengers experienced a rugged natural terrain that had been clearly subdued by technology. Rough landscapes were framed and presented as views that evoked the thrills of the sublime, but were ultimately rendered safe by the continuous movement of the train through the landscape. Reminders of civilization and technology were ever-present, and were even sought out by these privileged tourists. From the most coveted viewing position at the front of the train, approaching mountains could be seen most directly and dramatically: however, the path of the track ahead and the powerful train engine underfoot assured passengers of their safe passage through the potentially menacing mountains. First-class rail cars, meanwhile, not only included extra-large windows or special cars for viewing the scenery outside, but also the highest comforts of civilization inside,

¹⁰¹ Jones, *Famous Name Trains*, 51.

¹⁰² Clive Phillipps-Wolley, *A Sportsman's Eden* (London: Bentley, 1888), 32-3. Quoted in Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, 102.

from fine china to sumptuous upholstery. The reassuring luxuries of civilization that furnished the interior of first-class rail cars were integral to a pleasurable experience of the rugged landscapes outside the train, which when viewed through train windows, was enjoyed as pure scenery.

Rocky Mountains Park, 1887

Equipping its trains to optimize viewing was only one aspect of the C.P.R.'s work in the Rockies. Going beyond its transportation mandate, the railway company was instrumental in establishing the first national parks and a network of accommodations that facilitated tourism through the Rockies, developments that helped create a landscape that might be seen as a "civilized wilderness" on a regional scale.

The C.P.R. completed a series of simple dining stations with limited accommodation in 1887, but more ambitious plans were underway well before. As the rail line was being built, Van Horne planned elaborate facilities in Northern Ontario and the Rocky Mountains, regions without agricultural promise. The American-born general manager was aware of the involvement of railway companies such as the Northern Pacific, Santa Fe, and Great Northern in the United States national parks movement: focused advocacy had allowed them to claim virtual monopolies on tourist development in scenic regions. This included Yellowstone, an area of over 2 million acres designated as the first American national park in 1872. The Northern Pacific Railroad created the first rail access point to the park in 1883, and was owner or part owner of all

the hotels in the park until 1907.¹⁰³ As early as 1883, Van Horne set his sights on a park reserve that would provide similar development opportunities for the C.P.R. That winter, Van Horne was impressed with a view of Lac des Arcs on the Bow River near Calgary after a fresh snow fall, and asked William Pearce, a surveyor with the Canadian government, to arrange for the reservation of the park. Van Horne suggested that title of the land could rest with the C.P.R. or with himself, to stop “despoliation by the advances of civilization in the guise of miners or lumbermen.” The C.P.R. would then undertake to lead development and “build a fine house on the island in the lake.”¹⁰⁴ The same year, in the Lake Huron-side town of Algoma Mills in Northern Ontario, the C.P.R. began constructing a large, wooden resort-style hotel. At that time, there were plans for steamship service from Algoma Mills to Port Arthur as part of a through-route between Montreal and Winnipeg. No community or hotel existed at the transition point of Algoma Mills, and the C.P.R. planned to grandly fulfill that need.¹⁰⁵

However, both plans were frustrated in early 1884. When Van Horne saw the Lac des Arcs that spring, the lake level was very low, and a dust storm obscured visibility.¹⁰⁶ In Northern Ontario, changes to rail routing resulted in an eastern water terminal at Owen Sound rather than at

¹⁰³Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, 40-92. For a detailed consideration of the infrastructural and architectural development of early Yellowstone National Park, see Macy and Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape*, chapter 2.

¹⁰⁴ Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 11. Also see Anthony Roger Byrne, “Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911” (M.A., University of Calgary, 1964), 111.

¹⁰⁵ Omer Lavallée, “The Origins of the Canadian Pacific Hotel System,” (1974). CP Archives.

¹⁰⁶ Christine Barnes, *Great Lodges of the Canadian Rockies* (Bend, Oregon: W.W. West, Inc., 1999), 19.

Algoma Mills; accordingly, work on the hotel was stopped and the site abandoned. An alternate location for Van Horne's envisaged resort was found in March 1885, when the general superintendent for the Rocky Mountain region reported a recently discovered hot springs "in the vicinity of Banff within a short distance of where the station is located."¹⁰⁷ Van Horne again contacted Pearce, who sympathized with the general manager's development objectives and drew up the order in council that established a 26-mile land reserve around the hot springs on November 25, 1885, trumping previous land claims to the Springs.¹⁰⁸ Under the Rocky Mountains Park Act, enacted on June 23, 1887, this was expanded to a 260 square mile reserve under the direct administration of the Ministry of the Interior [Figures 2-16 and 2-17].

Although the C.P.R. did not hold title to the park in Banff, the solvency of the company was essential to the federal government, which had granted money and land to the Company and had high political stakes in its success. As a result, the C.P.R. and its friends and dependencies were given preference for doing business in the park.¹⁰⁹ As historian Leslie Bella explains,

Van Horne wanted to control development in the mountain valleys, to protect the scenery from squatting and enable the CPR to monopolize development. [...] Potential competitors to the CPR, and all the encroaching 'miners and lumbermen' that might sully the scenery, had [...] been bought out. [...] The government held title to the land, and was essentially sympathetic to the railroad and its friends — for the solvency of the CPR was essential to the electoral success of Macdonald's conservatives.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Letter from General Superintendent to Van Horne, March 19, 1885. CP Archives R61.A.8966

¹⁰⁸ Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 11-13, Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911", 112.

¹⁰⁹ Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 13-17.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 11-13.

Construction on the railway's Banff Springs Hotel began in 1886, at which time the C.P.R. also attempted to construct a spur line from their existing station to the hotel. The Company was stymied by a petition submitted to the Ministry of the Interior by Banff residents, merchants, and businessmen, who alleged that the proposed line would result in "the furtherance and absolute control of all travel to the sole benefit of the said corporation." The petition further noted, "the Canadian Pacific Railway Company intends issuing reduced tickets from all parts of the Dominion to the Park accompanied with attached coupon including compulsory board at their hotel." Allowing them to do so, the petitioners complained, would be to the "great detriment of and exclusion of other hotel keepers desirous of starting to build."¹¹¹ Although the spur line was not constructed, the C.P.R. enjoyed advantages denied to others. Principal among these, the Company was granted a 999-year lease for a large parcel of land near the Banff station, while other homes and businesses in Banff held only 42-year leases.¹¹²

What amounted to a public-private partnership between the federal government and the C.P.R. was instrumental in the construction of the railway. This tacit agreement effectively continued through the designation and early development of Rocky Mountains Park. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald personally supported designating the area as a park reservation in 1887,

¹¹¹ Petition dated 21 December, 1887; forwarded by Dept. of the Interior to Van Horne. CP Archives, Price correspondence — Hotel file.

¹¹² Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 14. This concession was permitted through the terms of the Rocky Mountains Park Act. While modeled on the Yellowstone Park Act from the United States, the Canadian version did not specify limits on lease terms as its American counterpart did. See Government of Canada, "An Act Respecting the Rocky Mountain Park of Canada," (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1887), 42nd Congress of the United States of America, "An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park," (1872).

emphasizing that both the federal government and C.P.R. had roles to play in making the park successful. Without the Canadian Pacific Railway to transport people to the area and help accommodate them, he pointed out, “the springs would be there, but the people would not.”¹¹³ He counted on the C.P.R. to construct a luxury hotel and lay out a town plot. At the same time, he admitted, “no doubt the Canadian Pacific Railway Company would be only too glad to take the land and make 1000 per. cent [sic] out of it.” He thus argued that government involvement was essential: “there is only one way of making that portion of the country what it ought to be, and that is by the scheme of the Government, undertaken with a full knowledge of their responsibility.”¹¹⁴

The vested interest of the C.P.R. — which provided the sole form of transportation to the park, and thus stood to profit from any traffic to the area — was a source of concern to members of the opposition, who argued against the government’s involvement in what they saw as the public subsidy of a private business venture. Sharp criticism was raised particularly against the unauthorized government spending of \$46,000 on road and bridge construction in the area, undertaken before Parliament was in session to approve the expense. “The Canadian Pacific Railway Company [...] are going to derive the chief benefit from people visiting that country,” pointed out one member, Mr. Jones.¹¹⁵ “I am opposed to this enterprise altogether,” stated another, Mr. Kirk.

¹¹³ Canada, *House of Commons Parliamentary Debates*, May 3, 1887, 236.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 232.

I cannot see for the life of me why the Government should [...] go into the business of preparing public parks as a resort — for whom? Not for the people of Canada, not for the people who pay the taxes, but for the wealthy people of the cities of the Dominion and the cities of other countries. [...] I protest against the whole scheme, and I hope the Government have not gone so far that they cannot withdraw and leave the matter for private enterprise.¹¹⁶

Arguments supporting federal expenditure in the park were primarily economic, and to a lesser degree aesthetic. Macdonald asserted that any spending on the park and its hot springs was a wise investment that would yield rich returns for the federal government as well as the C.P.R.

Then there will be the rental of the waters; that is a perennial source of revenue, and if carefully managed it will more than many times recuperate or recoup the Government for any present expenditure.

Mr. Mitchell: Recuperate, too, I hope.

Sir John A. Macdonald: Yes, recuperate the patients and recoup the Treasury.¹¹⁷

Defenders of the Park Bill extolled the healing properties of both the hot springs and the general landscape setting, emphasizing its suitability for tourism. Their descriptions stressed the utility of the landscape in providing recreational opportunities and a mixture of sublime and picturesque views. For instance, Member of Parliament Trow stated: “The scenery is delightful. It surpasses the Alps. For miles around the tops of the mountains are covered with perpetual snow, and there is a beautiful navigable river to add to the charms of the place [...] There is no land to cultivate except the valley on each side of the river, which is very limited.”¹¹⁸ Like early C.P.R. travel brochures, Trow’s description evoked the sublime majesty of the alpine landscape, but

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 233.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 232. Also see Robert Craig Brown, “The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resource and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887-1914,” in *Canadian Parks in Perspective* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1970).

simultaneously tamed the mountains into a “delightful” backdrop to be experienced from a distance. By evoking river-travel, he associated the landscape with established picturesque travel conventions. Pointing out the near-absence of agricultural potential allowed Trow to argue that the land’s most profitable use would be as a scenic reserve.

Beyond its economic potential, the park reservation also had ideological value — it was intended as a showpiece for Canada, deliberately promoted as superior to the Hot Spring in Arkansas and promising “much prestige to the whole country.”¹¹⁹ One proponent who had visited the springs proclaimed the park’s potential as a national icon. “I do not know of any portion of the Dominion that will become more celebrated in the history of this great county than that park,” stated member Trow.¹²⁰ Donald Smith, a member for Montreal West and as one of the C.P.R. directors, an interested party, defended the government and railway’s joint involvement in patriotic terms. The railway’s construction of a large hotel on the site, he argued, validated what would be an iconic site for the Dominion as a whole:

Anyone who has gone to Banff, and from the plateau on which the hotel is to be built, has looked down on the fall immediately below, a fall of eighty feet or more with a large volume of water, who has looked on the reaches of the Bow River, and on turning around, beheld the mountains towering heavenward, and not felt himself elevated and proud that all this is part of the Dominion, cannot be a true Canadian.¹²¹

The vantage point described by Smith was not a distant, uninhabited place, but the building site for a luxury hotel. The railway not only offered access to the new park reservation, but would

¹¹⁹ Canada. *House of Commons Parliamentary Debates*, May 3, 1887, 233.

¹²⁰ Canada. *House of Commons Parliamentary Debates*, April 29, 1887, 196.

¹²¹ Canada. *House of Commons Parliamentary Debates*, May 3, 1887, 238.

also create comfortable perches from which the towering mountains and waterfall could be viewed. If the railway acted as a symbol of civilization “encircling and conquering” the wild mountains, its hotel at Banff similarly created a civilized vantage point from which the surrounding landscapes could be perceived and appreciated as wilderness areas.

Building on these early ties to the nascent federal park program, the C.P.R. successfully obtained reservations at other railway locations throughout the Rockies. In 1886, 20 square miles were reserved in Rogers Pass, including Mount Sir Donald and the Great Glacier, near which the C.P.R. had established Glacier House; that same year, the area around the C.P.R.’s Mount Stephen House was designated as a reserve. In 1892, a reservation was created around the area of Lake Louise, where a C.P.R. chalet had been erected two years previously. In seeking to protect its development interests, the C.P.R. thus became a key instigator in forming and setting the tone for early park reservations in Canada. The Company created a network of civilized nodes for tourists which would be later enlarged to form the present-day parks in the Rockies and would eventually constitute the core of a national park system.

Constructing the Park, Constructing Nature

While today the Banff National Park region is perceived by many visitors as an untouched natural landscape, an examination of its early history tells a different story. From the beginning, the designation of Banff as a tourist resort entailed fundamental changes to the landscape — “park-making” as one senator called it. As another senator explained, “in order to make a park of

this tract of land, of course it becomes necessary to improve it to a certain extent.”¹²² As many precedents in the United States already demonstrated, the reservation only would become a park that attracted visitors with the construction of roads and bridges, the establishment of a town site, and the provision of tourist facilities ranging from bathing houses to hotels. The government would contribute financially to these improvements, while enforcing regulations intended to manage the natural features that made the area distinctive.¹²³

Timber and Mining

When Rocky Mountains Park was established in 1887, the area had already undergone substantial changes from its pre-European era. Rather than being an untouched landscape, the region had been trapped, prospected, cut-over, and burned in the same manner as much of Western Canada and the United States during the nineteenth century.¹²⁴ The railway’s entry had a significant impact — in a single construction season, over half a million ties were cut from the forest, and twenty thousand cords of wood removed to fuel construction locomotives.¹²⁵ Forest fires accidentally set during surveying and construction left landscapes like the tract behind

¹²² Canada, *Senate Debates*, May 25, 1887, 106-09.

¹²³ Brown, "The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resource and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887-1914," 50-52.

¹²⁴ For a comprehensive account of landscape change in Banff prior to and during the early park period, see Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911". Also cf. James Gordon Nelson, "Man and Landscape Change in Banff National Park," in *Canadian Parks in Perspective*, ed. J.G. Nelson and R.C. Scarce, *National Park Series, Studies in Land Use and Landscape Change* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1970), 63-76.

¹²⁵ Cliff White and E. J. Hart, *The Lens of Time: A Repeat Photography of Landscape Change in the Canadian Rockies* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 80-81.

Castle Mountain with a “desolate appearance” full of “blackened poles, that the fires had left as grim monuments of their fury.”¹²⁶ British novelist Morley Roberts, who worked on the line in 1884, mourned the desolation of a scene near Lake Louise: “Round me I saw the primeval forest torn down, cut and hewed and hacked. The brute power of man’s organized civilization had fought with Nature and had vanquished her.”¹²⁷ After the introduction of passenger rail service, forest fires in the area continued to occur with some frequency, initiated by stray sparks from early wood- and coal-burning locomotives that did not have adequate fireguards.

The creation of a park reserve did not put an end to resource exploitation in the area. On the contrary, the founding parliamentary act tacitly encouraged development by including provisions for the reservation of timber berths, “the pasturage of cattle” and “the working of mines and development of mining interests within the limits of the park,” provided that the latter did not “in any way impair the usefulness of the park for the purposes of public enjoyment and recreation.”¹²⁸ Although one or two members saw an implicit contradiction between reservation of the area as a public park and allowances for resource extraction, their objections did not hold a deciding influence. In counterpoint to a modern attitude of preservation, which seeks to maintain areas in a relatively intact state, the legislation was driven by what historian Robert Craig Brown calls a “doctrine of usefulness” — a conservation-based resource policy that supports managed resource extraction, and thus saw activities such as grazing, lumbering and mining, in addition to

¹²⁶ George Monro Grant, “The C.P.R. by the Kicking Horse Pass and the Selkirks,” *The Week*, January 10 1884.

¹²⁷ Morley Roberts, *The Western Avernus* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1924), 48-49.

¹²⁸ Government of Canada, “An Act Respecting the Rocky Mountain Park of Canada.” n.p.

tourism, as enhancing the usefulness of the reservation rather than depreciating its value.¹²⁹ The conservation-minded development of the park was consistent with a nationally pervasive attitude towards nature. In a Dominion whose principal economies had historically been cod, beaver, and timber export, the extraction of raw materials where possible was accepted as a common-sense use of landscape resources.

To some extent, these developments were integrated with tourism in the parks. In some cases, resource extraction and tourism shared a common infrastructure. Both used the railway, and later roads, for transportation. A road between Castle Mountain and Lake Louise, planned in 1911, ran parallel to the railway, allowing for traffic from tourists, park wardens, and timber workers, while doubling as a fireguard for the rails.¹³⁰ In addition to providing access to resources, the road would have enhanced the scenic experience from the train, by removing the trees that might otherwise screen views. Revenue from timber berths, coal rentals, and other licenses was included in the park's fiscal report, and could be used for improvements in tourist infrastructure. Moreover, the scenic qualities of the region were principally attributed to its mountain peaks, rivers and lakes — areas left relatively intact by mining and forestry operations.

The C.P.R. was a proponent of this resource development, particularly since coal was needed to fuel its locomotives. The same letter that informed Van Horne of the Banff hot springs discovery

¹²⁹ Brown, "The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resource and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887-1914."

¹³⁰ Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), 6-8.

also noted the presence of coal in the area, in the form of a mine “traced on the side of the mountains for over sixty (60) miles.”¹³¹ In 1904, the company established the mining town of Bankhead four miles northeast of Banff, on the road to Lake Minnewanka, one of the most popular scenic drives in the region. The mine began production in 1905.¹³²

Bankhead was planned as a model town with wood-frame houses in varying styles and colors, municipal water and sewage, and an electric system that supplied domestic power and street lighting [Figure 2-18].¹³³ The Park Superintendent’s annual report in 1904 dismissed any apparent conflict with the park setting, remarking that

the new village of Bankhead, instead of being a detriment to the beauty of the park, on the contrary, adds another to the many attractions of the neighborhood [...] Nestling under the shade of the Cascade [Mountain], with its beautiful homes and its industrial life, it has already become a popular stopping place for tourists.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Letter from General Superintendent to Van Horne, March 19, 1885, CP Archives R61.A.8966

¹³² The first commercial mining in the area had begun at Anthracite with the opening of the Canadian Anthracite Coal Company in 1883. Production continued after the area became part of the park reserve, and ceased in 1904 when it was no longer profitable. In 1889, coal mining began at Canmore, ten miles southeast of Anthracite and just outside of park boundaries. The case of Bankhead is exceptional since it initiated a new mining district within established park boundaries. The Bankhead mines remained operational until 1923.

¹³³ Ben Gadd, *Bankhead, the Twenty Year Town* (Banff, Alberta: Friends of Banff National Park, 1989), 29-32. A relationship can be seen between the designed layout of Bankhead, and the planning of the ready-made farm communities discussed in the next chapter. Further, one might explore the links between these designs and the suburban developments that the C.P.R. commissioned Montreal landscape architect Frederick Todd to design, such as Mount Royal in Calgary and Shaughnessy in Vancouver.

¹³⁴ Cited in Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 24. The text is also included in Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Resorts in the Canadian Rockies* (1906).

Accounts exist as early as the seventeenth century from tourists visiting industrial sites, and Dean MacCannell describes how industrial workplaces became popular tourist attractions in the late nineteenth century.¹³⁵ As a model industrial town, Bankhead was presented in this manner to tourists, who would have driven by the town on their way to Lake Minnewanka. However, whatever the potential scenic qualities of the townsite, Bankhead was responsible for the drastic transformation of immediate local landscapes, including the creation of mining pits, piles of bituminous coal slag, and industrial structures including a thermal power station. Overall, the town remained dwarfed by the larger landscape.

In addition to Bankhead, the railway established copper and coal mines along with their supporting towns at a half-dozen locations on either side of the line from Banff. Coal mining continued in Jasper Park until after the First World War, and in Banff until after Second World War. Access to other mineral resources was permitted in all the federal parks. Timber was culled for use by the mines and railroads, and as firewood, fence posts, and for house construction locally and in Calgary.¹³⁶

Flora and Picturesque Ideals

In the vicinity of Banff townsite and the hot springs, another series of interventions reshaped the plant, animal, and previous human presence in the park to accommodate tourists. From 1885 to

¹³⁵ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹³⁶ Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 25, John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 82.

1911, the C.P.R. and government embarked on what geographer Matthew Wangler describes as “an aggressive campaign of subduing and improving the natural world” within the Banff area, aimed at shaping the area to meet visitor expectations of what a civilized national park should look like.¹³⁷ In many ways, park and railway authorities fashioned Banff to appear as a manicured park in which the most unruly aspects of the natural landscape had been controlled.

The most visible example of nature domesticated in this manner was the Banff Springs Hotel golf course, which officially opened on July 15, 1911. Its construction involved blasting rock, carting in soil, strategically planting trees, trimming the forest, and shaping the land to create smooth expanses of grassland and softly rolling hills [Figure 2-19]. The smooth terrain of the golf course echoed the clean lawns created by eighteenth-century English landscape designer Lancelot “Capability” Brown. By the mid-eighteenth century, his popularity was such that many English country houses had an extensive level parterre off one front, which was sometimes used for cricket, a usage that arguably inspired later estate golf courses.¹³⁸

In the broader Banff region, Park superintendent George Stewart, a civil engineer and a landscape architect, also attempted to improve the landscape by introducing imported trees. This perhaps reflected a turn to the later British picturesque tradition, which espoused a preference for

¹³⁷ Matthew Wangler, “Canada’s Rocky Mountain Parks: Rationality, Romanticism, and a Modern Canada,” in *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, ed. R. D. Francis and Chris Kitzen (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2007). The complex issues surrounding the presence and status of First Nations in Banff will be examined in more detail in chapter 5, “A Primitive Wilderness.”

¹³⁸ Phibbs, John. “The Englishness of Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown,” *Garden History* 31:2 Winter 2003, 129.

deciduous trees that provided delicate textures, soft outlines, and variety in form and color. In contrast, the forests indigenous to the Banff area were made up of coniferous species considered gloomy, harsh and oppressive.¹³⁹ While this might have been appropriate in forming a sublime backdrop along with the mountains, visitors had different expectations of their immediate surroundings, where they wished to see more diverse and visually inviting plantings. “The want of variety in our foliage has been constantly remarked, and regretted, by visitors,” Stewart reported, adding a remark on “large areas of dead timber giving a desolate appearance to the landscape.” On the recommendation of the Government Experimental Station in Ottawa, Stewart imported some forty thousand young deciduous and evergreen trees from nurseries in the Northwestern United States in 1888, with the aim of enhancing the areas around Banff and replanting areas decimated by forest fires. A first consignment was planted temporarily near the Bow River, and a nursery site eventually established at the base of Cascade Mountain, where Stewart planned to create a full arboretum against the backdrop of the waterfall.¹⁴⁰ After three years, the experiment failed, and only later was reforestation with local trees considered.¹⁴¹

A turn to English landscaping traditions — and in particular the picturesque movement — was reflected in specific decisions, such as Stewart’s ambitious imported tree project, as well as in a

¹³⁹ Lowenthal and Price, “English Landscape Tastes,” 197.

¹⁴⁰ Canada, Department of the Interior, “Report of the Department of the Interior,” *Sessional Papers*, no. 14 (1888): Part 5.

¹⁴¹ Eleanor Georgina Luxton, *Banff: Canada's First National Park* (Banff: Summerthought, 1975), 69.

general commitment to extensively modifying the natural environments of the park, often in the interest of maintaining their character as “wilderness” landscapes. In line with the landscapes sought out by William Gilpin, picturesque taste was premised on the idea that nature, at its best, shared similarities with art. This spurred English landowners to mold their estates to resemble the idealized natural landscapes depicted by painters such as Salvator Rosa, Gaspard Poussin, and Claude Lorrain. One of the early proponents of artificially creating picturesque landscapes, Humphrey Repton, laid out grounds punctuated by irregular tree clumps and winding belts. In *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*, he situated this style of work within the picturesque tradition, characterizing it as incorporating effects such as intricacy, variety, novelty, continuity, association, and seasonal change.

The picturesque was elaborated as a theoretical category in debates between Repton, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. Price critiqued Repton’s notions of the picturesque, advocating for what he felt was a less contrived form of the picturesque while also codifying it as a new aesthetic category, situated between the sublime and the beautiful. Knight also critiqued the Brownian style of landscape gardening, seeing the results as a “shaven and defaced Nature” against which he defended a “free” natural landscape that incorporated a greater degree of imprecision.¹⁴² Against contrived clumps and belts, Knight proposed elements such as natural paths to connect vistas indirectly, vine-covered houses, and gradations of connected plantings. Likening landscape design to painted compositions, Knight described vistas made up of woods

¹⁴² Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape, a didactic poem, in three books. Addressed to Uvedale Price, Esq.*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Bulmer, G. Nicol, 1795), 4.

and mountains in the background, light-dispersing water in the midground, and beautiful, smaller objects in the foreground. Elements such as old huts and decayed tree trunks completed the ideal scene, by adding an air of neglect, contrived though it might be.

A complex relationship existed between notions of the picturesque, wilderness, and civilization. Proponents of the picturesque favored irregular, complex, intricate, and ornate elements over geometrical, formal compositions. At the end of the nineteenth century, variability and complexity would also be identified as characteristics of wilderness landscapes. At the same time, the landscapes favored by the picturesque were long domesticated— often including free-ranging sheep and cows, planted fields, and small ruins or weathered structures. Payne Knight linked this simultaneous sense of a natural and tamed landscape to a political state of peaceful liberty, which he contrasted with the powerfully geometric French parterres that he saw as linked to disruptive revolutions.¹⁴³ These associations would have had a positive resonance in Western Canada. At a more general level, Banff park-makers and the region's high-class visitors would likely have internalized a set of cultural conceptions that saw picturesque landscapes as residing in harmony with nature, and often even improving upon the natural landscape.¹⁴⁴

More broadly, a sense of tidiness in Banff landscapes was valued in a way that also reflected British landscape ideals. As David Lowenthal and Hugh Price have remarked, “if confusion, irregularity, and even ‘wild obscurity and rude neglect’ are admired and cultivated, the English

¹⁴³ Ibid., postscript.

¹⁴⁴ Christopher Armstrong, H. V. Nelles, and Matthew Evenden, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 282.

landscape is also an exemplar of order and neatness.”¹⁴⁵ Larger-scale changes to the area’s flora reflected efforts to create a well-demarcated, ordered landscape. Early suggestions by William F. Whitcher, the former federal fisheries commissioner who was asked to sketch regulations for the new national park at Banff, included converting “an extensive waste of beaver meadow” into “a pretty group of small lakes,” which resulted in the construction of a dam at the outlet of Lake Minnewanka to flood the area. On his recommendation, wild rice plants were imported from Ontario “to replace the rank weeds and wiry grasses now covering the unflooded portions” (of the Vermilion Lakes) and also to offer “food and concealment to wild geese and ducks.”¹⁴⁶ The non-native rice was also planted on the borders of Lake Minnewanka, where it thrived. Meanwhile, the removal of “weedy” native bunch grasses extending along the Bow River was encouraged. Grazing permits were issued as well as permissions to cut the “marsh hay” to feed horses brought into Banff for local transportation, resulting in the eventual disappearance of these grasses.¹⁴⁷

Fauna and Indian Hunters

Fauna populations also were manipulated to meet the expectations of sport hunters. While the 1887 Act contained a clause for “the preservation and protection of game and fish,” and “of wild birds generally,” effective protection was impracticable within the original park because of its

¹⁴⁵ David Lowenthal and Hugh C. Price, “English Landscape Tastes,” *Geographical Review* 55, no. 2 (1965).

¹⁴⁶ Canada, Department of the Interior, “Report of the Department of the Interior,” *Sessional Papers*, no. 7 (1887): Part I.

¹⁴⁷ Byrne, “Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911”, 94.

arbitrarily rectangular boundary, and impossible within the huge 4,500 square mile territory established in 1902. As a result, early big game hunters and pot-hunting miners drastically reduced the game population of the park.¹⁴⁸ The first government-salaried game wardens were not appointed to enforce prohibitions against hunting within park boundaries until 1909. Responding to the decline in big-game populations, officials meanwhile managed the park to encourage the recovery of trophy animals, often to the detriment of other species. Whitcher's early wildlife study recommended the destruction of predators and so-called noxious animals such as "wolves, coyotes, foxes, lynxes, skunks, weasels, wildcats, porcupines" as well as "eagles, falcons, owls, hawks if too numerous [...] also loons, mergansers, kingfishers, and cormorants."¹⁴⁹ The reduction of supposedly harmful predators would remain an accepted game management practice until the 1930s. On the other hand, suggestions were made for importing quail and pheasants to diversify the park's offerings to sportsmen. A hatchery erected in 1913, situated near the Bow River Falls, bred fish for stocking the various bodies of water in the park, including growing salmon trout fry for Lake Minnewanka tourist fishing.¹⁵⁰

The presence of First Nations was also managed to meet tourist expectations of finding abundant game in the park. Under Treaty 7, the regional Nakoda Indians had been moved to a reserve at Morley in 1877, adjacent to the park. Once the park was formed, the Indians were often blamed

¹⁴⁸ Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911", 101.

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Nelson, "Man and Landscape Change in Banff National Park," 67.

¹⁵⁰ Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916), 33. The importance of hunting and fishing within the parks will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, "A Recreational Wilderness."

for the destruction of game animals within it, and although they played a role it was frequently exaggerated. Scholars Theodore Binnema and Melanie Niemi have pointed out that First Nations were targeted by regulations prohibiting hunting inside the park, while legislation forcing them to adhere to provincial and territorial game laws further restricted their traditional hunting practices.¹⁵¹ The expulsion of First Nations groups may also have been motivated by a desire to perpetuate the idea of wilderness as uninhabited. An illusion was maintained that the scenic mountains favored by tourists were free of unruly, uncivilized inhabitants, and thus available for touristic consumption as wilderness landscapes.¹⁵² Park managers therefore dissuaded such prosaic and seemingly primitive subsistence activities as pot-hunting, in favor of preserving scenery and game for tourists and sportsmen engaged in more noble, civilized endeavors such as trophy-hunting.

Because of the scarcity of many forms of wildlife in the park, a zoo and aviary were established as tourist attractions at the Banff townsite. In 1898, park superintendent Howard Douglas constructed an animal paddock where game could be observed by visitors and protected from hunters [Figure 2-20].¹⁵³ The first specimens were a small herd of elk, followed by two buffalo

¹⁵¹ Theodore Binnema and Melanie Niemi, "'Let the Line be Drawn Now': Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal people from Banff National Park in Canada," *Environmental History* 11, no. 4 (2006): 729-36.

¹⁵² Permanent inhabitants were allowed in the townsites, but this is not necessarily contradictory: the towns within the national parks were seen as part of its civilized areas rather than its wilderness zones, within which inhabitation was discouraged. As will be discussed in the final case study, under certain controlled circumstances First Nations were associated with a primitive wilderness and invited back to the park they originally inhabited — but even in these cases, their sojourn in the park was temporary and explicitly did not involve hunting.

¹⁵³ Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, 56.

cows; later additions included a buffalo herd, mountain lions, red foxes, mountain sheep, deer, and moose. With the exception of the plains-dwelling buffalo, these would have been previously found in the Rocky Mountains, though notably, paddock animal selection focused on game and fur-bearing species. In 1905, a zoo was opened in Banff to accommodate some animals from the paddock. In its first years, this mostly housed animals small enough to be easily kept in captivity or deemed too dangerous to house in the paddock — including raccoons, beavers, and mountain lions. In 1912, the zoo turned to exotic exports in adding two ring-tailed monkeys, a pair of peafowl, a pair of swans, and a polar bear (apparently obtained in exchange for two moose).¹⁵⁴ The zoo began gradually re-housing some of its animals at other zoos in the 1920s, and closed at the end of the 1937 season; the last bison from the paddock were transferred to Elk Island National Park in 1997.

Far from being an untouched environment, the early Rocky Mountains National Park was substantially affected by railway construction and subsequently modified to meet industry needs and tourist expectations. Areas less admired by tourists, such as scraggly grasslands, rocky foothills, and gloomy coniferous forests, were opened to grazing, mining, and forestry respectively. Against the mountain backdrop, model mining towns were founded, lakes were then enlarged and calmed by dams, scrub replaced with smooth turf, and attempts made to enliven forests with new species, bringing the landscape closer to British picturesque ideals. Meanwhile, an image of regional abundance was nurtured by cultivating game species for the exclusive use of hunters. The establishment of an aviary and zoo made these animals easily

¹⁵⁴ Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914), 41.

accessible to the tourist gaze, while the eventual inclusion of animals ranging from peacocks to monkeys supported associations with Edenic exoticism and diversity. Together, these interventions built up an image of the region as an abundant and fruitful wilderness whose unruly aspects had been tamed, and which had been substantially “improved” by civilizing efforts.

Fifty Switzerlands in One

In railway literature, the modeling of the larger territory had an explicit model: C.P.R. promotional campaigns repeatedly invoked the “Canadian Alps” and promoted the mountains as “50 Switzerlands Rolled into One.”¹⁵⁵ In a key C.P.R. brochure, *The New Highway to the East*, Mount Sir Donald in the Selkirks was described as “an acute pyramid of naked rock shooting up nearly eight thousand feet above us, a dozen Matterhorns in one.” Similarly, the Great Glacier (Illecillewaet on modern maps) was measured against the glaciers of the Alps, the greatest of which, the text concluded, “would be insignificant” by comparison.¹⁵⁶ The theme was echoed in tourist accounts and repeated in later publicity, including a letter-card booklet from 1904 that showed seven photographs from “The Switzerland of America” and a series of brochures called *The Challenge of the Mountains* that made the comparison explicitly [Figure 2-21]. The phrase had been well established in popular parlance by 1912, when a guidebook issued by the local

¹⁵⁵ The phrase was reportedly coined by English journalist and mountaineer Edward Whymper, who first visited Canada in 1900 at the invitation of the Company, and pronounced the Rockies to be “equal to fifty or sixty Switzerlands rolled into one.” See Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 84-85, White and Hart, *The Lens of Time: A Repeat Photography of Landscape Change in the Canadian Rockies*, chapter 5.

¹⁵⁶ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East, Across the Mountains, Prairies & Rivers of Canada*, 39.

trade board appeared entitled *Banff the Beautiful: 50 Switzerlands in One*.¹⁵⁷ In collaboration with local entrepreneurs, C.P.R. hotel management offered day trips to scenic attractions of types familiar from the Alps — mountain lakes, waterfalls, and glaciers.

Montreal-based English emigré architect Thomas Sorby's designs for the first permanent dining stations were recognizable to tourists as inspired by Swiss chalets. Mount Stephen House in Field, Glacier House near Rogers Pass, and Fraser Canyon at North Bend, all featured a three-story core, with a two-story wing to one side, and a one-story dining hall to the other; modest quarters attached to these stations included staff lodgings and five to six guest rooms [Figure 2-22]. Spacious verandahs, dormer windows, and wood trim offered simple detailing inspired by Swiss chalet and British arts and crafts models. Observers consistently referred to the clapboard-sided structures as “of the Swiss chalet type”¹⁵⁸ or “Swiss-like.”¹⁵⁹ Alpine rest huts and lodges erected later by the C.P.R., which will be discussed in a later chapter, also in many instances adopted a Swiss appearance.

These references to Switzerland are significant since the Swiss Alps presented the longest-standing and most recognizable precedent for alpine tourism, acting as the model of a “civilized wilderness.” As ideas relating alpine air to health became pervasive over the course of the

¹⁵⁷ The phrase “Banff the Beautiful” was also taken from C.P.R. literature; it first appears as a subtitle on a C.P.R. brochure from 1900.

¹⁵⁸ Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists: The Golden Age of Canadian Travel*, 17.

¹⁵⁹ Carmichael, *A Holiday Trip, Montreal to Victoria and Return, Via the Canadian Pacific Railway. Midsummer, 1888*, 22.

nineteenth century, Europeans flocked to rural locations in the Alps. They resided at spas and at locally-run guesthouses and pensions, while a growing network of trails and roads allowed for easy travel by foot or carriage between inns in different villages. The 1840s marked the beginnings of railway construction in Switzerland, enabling mass travel and spurring the creation of larger hotels. By the 1850s, the Swiss hotel industry was well established, and simple inns had evolved into luxury hotels with plush furnishings, lavish service, and elaborate cuisine.

Alongside these palaces, less expensive pensions catered to guests who stayed a fortnight or longer. While some guests partook of this new, relatively sedentary form of vacationing based in one locale, others traveled on organized or self-conducted tours between such established villages as Grindewaldf, Giesbach, Berne, Neuchatel, Interken, Luzern, the Rigi, and Küsnacht, all within a day's carriage ride or walk of one another.¹⁶⁰ Just as sanatorium were popular in Switzerland, comparable institutions were being created in remote Canadian locations, including the Rockies.¹⁶¹ As historian John Marsh has noted, comparisons with the familiar landscape of the European Alps helped tourists to describe and evaluate the new landscapes of the Rockies. The C.P.R. was keen to encourage comparisons with the Swiss Alps, which were seen as the most "civilized" of these mountains, with their well-developed infrastructure of transportation systems and hotel accommodations.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Bernard, *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland*, 91-99.

¹⁶¹ The first Canadian sanatorium was built in the Muskoka region of Ontario in 1896. In the Rockies, Dr. Brett, a medical supervisor for the C.P.R., founded the Sanatorium Hotel (later 'Sanitarium Hotel' and 'Bretton Hall Hotel) with the monetary help of the C.P.R. in 1886.

¹⁶² John Marsh, "The Rocky and Selkirk Mountains and the Swiss Connection, 1885-1914," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 419.

In addition to attracting European tourists familiar with the Alps, this promotional strategy would also have placed the Canadian Rockies in competition with the American Rockies, which as early as 1869 had been dubbed “The Switzerland of America.”¹⁶³ In both instances, the reference conveyed a sense of sophistication, as well as a mix of both familiarity and adventure to potential tourists. Like its American railway counterparts, C.P.R. references to a known landscape aided in a larger process of re-imagining the West as a series of places comparable, if not superior to, the most desirable destinations in Europe.¹⁶⁴

The C.P.R.’s rivalry with Switzerland emerges in C.P.R. bulletins issued as monthly newsletters to personnel in the passenger services department. Among other news items, bulletins from 1913 onwards boasted to staff about C.P.R. observation cars that were sold for use on rail lines through the European Alps — an operation known as the “Canadian Pacific Aussichtswagendienst [Canadian Pacific Viewing-Service Railcars].” The implication was that the sophistication of the C.P.R.’s operations in the Canadian Rockies had exceeded its Swiss models, with the effect that the Swiss were now seeking out C.P.R. equipment.

Parallels with the Swiss Alps appealed particularly to adventurers from the United States and Europe seeking to climb the “virgin” peaks of the Rockies. By mid-century, a popular enthusiasm for mountaineering had begun to inspire amateurs in Britain, with the first meeting of the London Alpine Club on December 22, 1857, gathering together enthusiasts who undertook

¹⁶³ This was the title of a 1869 book by Samuel Bowles.

¹⁶⁴ Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, 21.

climbing expeditions in the Alps.¹⁶⁵ While the first alpine tourists appeared in Canada before the completion of the rail line, the mountains' appeal to climbers rose dramatically with the C.P.R.'s construction of rail access and accommodations in the vicinity. Glacier House, located at the foot of the Illecillewaet Glacier in the Selkirk Mountains, emerged as a mountain climbing center. At the time, the glacier descended three thousand feet in plain view of travelers from the train. Two additions to the hostelry — in 1892 and 1904 — more than tripled its size in response to growing popularity [Figure 2-23].

Mountaineering possibilities appealed to many visitors, as a way to access areas that were rendered safe for exploration. C.P.R. brochures enumerated a range of recreational options for men and women of different physical abilities and ambitions residing at Glacier House. The area offered opportunities for curious sightseers ("[the glacier] is not the largest in the mountains, but it is the most accessible, and in every way representative of these most interesting natural phenomena"),¹⁶⁶ casual hikers ("Mt. Abbott is a day's climb, but it is an easy one, and should be undertaken by all, for from it a splendid view is obtained"),¹⁶⁷ as well as more serious alpinists ("glaciers, crevasses, avalanches and falling rocks are only to be overcome by the most experienced").¹⁶⁸ As Bart Robinson details, guides facilitated exploration at both Glacier and

¹⁶⁵ David Robertson, "Mid-Victorians Amid the Alps," in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U. C. Knoepfelmacher and G. B. Tennyson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 114.

¹⁶⁶ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The Challenge of the Mountains*, 64.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁶⁸ ———, *Resorts in the Canadian Rockies*, 16.

Banff, and many elite guests enjoyed the novelty of the experience. “All in all, the various mountain men and the exotic paraphernalia of their respective trades marked a colourful and highly stimulating contrast to the world of crinolines and spats.”¹⁶⁹

Beginning in 1899, the C.P.R. hired professional Swiss guides to assist with tourism at the mountain hotels. More than employing them for their mountaineering skills, the Company capitalized on their Swiss character and visual appeal, having them parade in traditional costume in England and Canada, pose for photographs, and promenade up and down railway platforms when the trains came in.¹⁷⁰ At first, these men were stationed at the three hotels at Glacier, Field, and Lake Louise for the summer tourist season, returning to their homes in Switzerland each winter. In 1909 the C.P.R. decided to provide the guides with permanent homes in the Rockies. In keeping with the theme of a Canadian Alps, the company commissioned Calgary-based architects Wilson & Rees to design a hillside group of Swiss-style houses with views onto the Selkirk mountains. Blueprints for the six houses depict three-story, semi-timbered constructions, finished in “scrambled” cement with a swirled surface texture on the top floor, rough-finished cement with embedded pebbles on the second floor, and smooth cement on the ground floor [Figure 2-24]. Gingerbread-cut wood trim and brackets, scroll-like panel decorations, and floral façade motifs drew facile references to traditional Swiss alpine buildings. Less conventional elements made the identification with alpine landscapes even more literal: the design for Chalet No. 6 included a metal finial in the shape of a mountain goat head, an animal popularly

¹⁶⁹ Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 28.

¹⁷⁰ Marsh, “The Rocky and Selkirk Mountains and the Swiss Connection, 1885-1914,” 427.

associated with mountains, while Chalet No. 5 included a weathervane topped by a prancing goat.¹⁷¹

More than providing simple accommodations, the dwellings — collectively dubbed “Edelweiss Swiss Village” — were intended to serve as a tourist attraction, appearing on C.P.R. brochures, postcards, and promotional maps. Their hillside location made the grouping visible from the valley below, where the train lines ran, and a wooden sign identified the village as a point of interest for train passengers [Figure 2-25]. Unfortunately, this siting was an inconvenience to the houses’ inhabitants. As one author reports, “The families never liked the houses, which were, in fact, Canadian homes with a few Swiss decorative touches, such as ornate balconies. They were also too far from the town, and the wives had a long climb up and down whenever they needed anything.”¹⁷² The village was more scenic than practical.

In its development of the Rockies, the C.P.R.’s emulation of the internationally known Swiss example stretched from the strategic planning of a network of hostelrys through the mountains to hiring Swiss guides to facilitate alpine excursions. On an architectural level, the C.P.R. designed chalets and homes to look like their Swiss counterparts and positioned them in locations where they could be easily seen from the railway. As one traveler wryly noted, all of these structures were “of course, owned and managed, like everything else out West, by the

¹⁷¹ A full set of blueprints can be found in Glenbow, Canadian Pacific Hotel Department Fonds (HDF), M7588

¹⁷² Herb Kariel and Pat Kariel, *Alpine Huts in the Rockies, Selkirks and Purcells* (Banff: Alpine Club of Canada, 1986), 8.

Canadian Pacific Railway.”¹⁷³ More than any other private or public entity, the C.P.R. — with its infrastructure, buildings, and programs — shaped the image and experience of the Canadian Rocky Mountains as a Swiss-like landscape. By copying the Swiss example, the Company aligned the Rockies less with the geographic extension of the mountain range in the United States, but rather with a European precedent that had an established reputation as a healthful place of retreat with the amenities of civilization. By doing so, they sought to attract European as well as upper-tier North American tourists to an alpine region they purported would equal and even surpass its European counterpart in natural grandeur, recreational possibilities, and luxury accommodation.¹⁷⁴

Luxury in the Wilderness: The Banff Springs Hotel

Some of the most lasting transformations of the park landscape stemmed from the C.P.R.’s development of tourist accommodations. A frontispiece reproduced in multiple C.P.R. brochures conveys the network’s overall character [Figure 2-26]. Providing a civilized access to natural

¹⁷³ Professor Dixon, as written in the Glacier House Scrapbook on July 24, 1897. Quoted in William Lowell Putnam, *The Great Glacier and its House: The Story of the First Center of Alpinism in North America, 1885-1925* (New York: American Alpine Club, 1982), 59.

¹⁷⁴ In both Switzerland and Canada, alpine landscapes accessed by rail were bound with issues of national identity. As historians Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer have pointed out, both societies shared a polyethnic composition that diverged with the nationalist ideal of ethnic homogeneity. As a result, argue Kaufmann and Zimmer, both nations turned to wild landscapes as symbols of pluralism and manifestations of national authenticity. The inclusion of the railway in both landscapes moreover points to a strain of technological nationalism. Canada in particular has show fascination with the civilizing potential represented by technology. See Eric and Oliver Zimmer Kaufmann, "In Search of the Authentic Nation: Landscape and National Identity in Canada and Switzerland," *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 4 (1998), R. Douglas Francis, *The Technological Imperative in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

regions, many of the hotels depicted in the plate — Mount Stephen House, Banff Hotel, Glacier House — are set against a backdrop of mountains and evergreen forests; even the inset of urban Hotel Vancouver, itself sited for views of mountains, is given a natural touch by a graphic border of fir boughs. Technology crisscrosses the image, in the form of the trains running directly in front of Mountain Stephen House and Glacier House. In front of Glacier House, a tall plume jets up from a round fountain in front of a rectangular parterre: these are formal landscaping elements within the rustic location. The buildings themselves are clean-lined and polished. The overall effect is one of refined civilization in a railway-accessed natural setting.

In the center of the plate is the showplace of the C.P.R.'s hotel program: the Banff Springs Hotel. Seen from the rear, the hotel towers above a rushing river and a cliff forested with coniferous trees. Behind the hotel, mountain peaks gleam in the sunlight. Smoke curls from chimneys and from a massive stack left of the hotel, fuelling the steam heating system inside. An inset shows a spacious lobby, which exhibits an atmosphere of calm efficiency. A well-dressed woman and her charge stroll in the foreground, while behind, a single man in a suit-jacket checks in with a receptionist. Visually linking the diamond-shaped inset to the main rendering, a pair of pine limbs points to the exterior rotunda, the central point in the entire plate, where visitors would have enjoyed open-air views over the surrounding landscape.

This image suggests two ways of analyzing the Banff Springs Hotel's relationship to its site: the hotel can be examined as an object in the landscape, to be considered and admired from afar; also, it can be understood as a pavilion for viewing the surrounding landscape. As an object placed within the landscape, the Banff Springs Hotel's site was key to its reputation as a

luxurious resort. The establishment was modeled on high-end spas at mineral hot spring locations such as Baden-Baden in Germany, Evian-les-Bains in France, Saratoga Springs in New York, White Sulphur Springs in West Virginia, French Lick in Indiana, and the Hot Springs in Arkansas. In addition to taking the health-giving waters, resort guests socialized with their high-class peers in these grand hotels and enjoyed such activities as golf, tennis, horseback riding, and polo.¹⁷⁵ Another set of models derived from healthful resorts in mountain ranges, led by the Alps in Switzerland and joined by grand hotels in the Catskill Mountains of New York.¹⁷⁶ American steamship and railway companies had developed several of the most prominent examples. For instance, the Atlantic and Saint Lawrence Railway created Alpine House on the eastern side of Mount Washington and the Southern Pacific Railroad founded Hotel Del Monte on the Monterey Peninsula. Known as “The Queen of American Watering Places,” this eclectic and lavish hotel’s luxe ornamentation and facilities attracted a national and international clientele [Figure 2-26].¹⁷⁷ The C.P.R. similarly targeted an upper-class audience that had money to spend on luxury vacationing.¹⁷⁸ From the outset, the company promoted the hotel based on its distinguished site, which was unique in combining the benefits of mineral hot springs and a mountain setting. Depictions such as the frontispiece used in C.P.R. publicity [Figure 2-27] show the hotel as an object dominating this natural environment, which surrounded it completely. No other man-made structures are visible, emphasizing the hotel’s remote — and thus healthful — setting.

¹⁷⁵ Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*, 53.

¹⁷⁶ James de Jonge, "Banff Springs Hotel, Spray Avenue, Banff, Alberta," (Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 1988).

¹⁷⁷ Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*, 42.

¹⁷⁸ Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*, 53-83.

New York architect Bruce Price, father of etiquette-maven Emily Post, was hired to design the Banff Springs Hotel, a sign of Van Horne's early intention to have it rank alongside other internationally renowned resorts. Construction started in 1886 and was completed in 1888, costing roughly a quarter-million dollars — an undertaking that a contemporary journalist deemed a “mammoth affair.”¹⁷⁹ The wood frame building, which Van Horne pronounced “the finest hotel on the North American Continent” contained over 100 bedrooms, as well as the most up-to-date conveniences — in addition to steam heat, it boasted electric lighting, elevators, a large reading room, several parlors, dining rooms, smoking rooms, a ballroom, and for gentlemen, a billiard room and bar [Figure 2-28].¹⁸⁰ At the heart of the building was a large octagonal rotunda that served as a lobby and gathering space, with overhanging red pine galleries on every floor leading to the guest rooms. The summer after opening, pools with a detached bathhouse and separate compartments for ladies and for gentlemen were unveiled.¹⁸¹ The establishment ranked in the Dominion's top five hotels in Karl Baedeker's 1894 guidebook and was particularly noted for its “hot sulphur baths, open-air swimming baths, tennis court, and bowling alley; good cuisine and attendance.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ “The Great Hotel: A Few Facts About the Mammoth Building Being Erected at Banff,” *Winnipeg Sun* 1887.

¹⁸⁰ Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*, 18-19.

¹⁸¹ Barnes, *Great Lodges of the Canadian Rockies*, 22-23.

¹⁸² Cited in Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 37. Also see Karl Baedeker, *The Dominion of Canada with Newfoundland and an Excursion to Alaska*, 2nd ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1900), 218. The other top-ranking hotels were Eastern destinations: the C.P.R.'s Château Frontenac (also designed by Bruce Price) in Quebec, the C.P.R.'s Windsor Station (yet

The building was constructed on an H-shaped ground plan, with the long sides parallel to the Bow River and an additional wing jutting out at the building's center. From their railway car windows, guests could glimpse the hotel perched on Sulphur Mountain, overlooking the river. As they approached by horse-drawn carriage from the station, the hotel slid in and out of view, disappearing behind a bank as they crossed the Bow River bridge, then appearing again on the horizon as the road ascended the hill. Finally, the road curved onto a raised terrace in front of the hotel, and passengers disembarked under a sheltered entryway. They entered a set of double doors into the large central hall, a multi-story rotunda, where they were greeted by receptionists and signed the guest registrar [Figure 2-29]. The hall was a forty-foot diameter square, with its corners cut off to form entrances on the ground floor, off which branched corridors into the various wings. Concealed within two opposite angles of the hall were the principal stairs to the other floors. After settling in their rooms and changing out of clothes dusty from travels, guests could proceed to the glass-enclosed smoking and reading rooms at the ends of two of the wings, or to the principal drawing room on the first floor. This showcase space had three sets of windows and opened onto a large outdoor gallery over the north verandah.¹⁸³

another Bruce Price design) in Montreal, and the Russell House and Grand Union in the capital city, Ottawa.

¹⁸³ This description of the approach is reconstructed from photographs and on-site observations. The building layout and interior is described in a *Dominion Illustrated* article, published July 21, 1888. Despite extensive searches, no plans of the building could be located. As Samuel Greybill notes in his 1971 reappraisal of Price's work, "Price's office records do not exist, nor extensive personal information from his survivors. Even municipal building records are often missing or incomplete." To this date, no comprehensive archive of Price's work exists. Samuel Greybill, *Bruce Price, American Architect, 1845-1903*. PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1971.

Although the cost of staying at the Banff Springs Hotel was more than double that of other hotels established at Banff in the 1880s, it was clearly the most fashionable choice. As one early visitor noted:

One who stays here for two hours realizes the distinction between “the man who lived in the terraced house and the brother in the streets below”... for one either stops at *The Hotel*, or he does not ... There are several hotels — some on hillsides set in pleasant parks, others on the banks of the Bow River, and some on the main street of town — and then there is the Banff Springs Hotel...¹⁸⁴

This high status was further emphasized by the hotel’s architecture. To early visitors, the hotel elicited European comparisons, although its precise stylistic origins were elusive. James Carmichael wrote of the Banff Springs as simply “a palatial hotel” following his visit in 1888.¹⁸⁵ Other visitors described it as “in the Schloss style of the Rhenish provinces” or “half way between a Tudor Hall and a Swiss Chalet... a Tudor Chalet in wood.”¹⁸⁶ Examining the varied roof line and cedar accents of the hotel, historian Christine Barnes reads echoes of the Shingle style of architecture popular in the countryside surrounding Price’s New York home,¹⁸⁷ while historian Bart Robinson argues that the hotel made references to French Loire châteaux.¹⁸⁸ Architectural historian Harold Kalman observes that “the steep hipped roofs, pointed finialed dormers, corner turrets, and oriels seem to have been freely derived from a medieval castle,” although in light of Van Horne’s Scottish origins, he also notes that the building may have been

¹⁸⁴ Cited in Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 21.

¹⁸⁵ Carmichael, *A Holiday Trip, Montreal to Victoria and Return, Via the Canadian Pacific Railway. Midsummer, 1888*, 16.

¹⁸⁶ *Dominion Illustrated*, July 21, 1888, 38 and *Dominion Illustrated*, Sept. 19, 1891, 276.

¹⁸⁷ Barnes, *Great Lodges of the Canadian Rockies*, 22.

¹⁸⁸ Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 12-13.

intended as a Scottish castle in the baronial style — a popular nineteenth century style that was distinguished by crow-stepped gables and turreted towers.¹⁸⁹

Reference to an 1886 sketch that was evidently the basis for the design further complicates its interpretation [Figure 2-30]. In comparison to the built hotel, the sketch depicted a more horizontally elongated building with a pyramidal center, a feature that would be reintroduced in a later rebuilding. Finer surface detailing, including window corbels, a regularized rhythm of smaller dormers, and a more slender arched window for the central volume suggest links to Price's later castle-like, turreted hotel designs for the Château Frontenac in Quebec City and Hotel Viger in Montreal.

Ultimately, importance at the time lay less in the hotel's precise stylistic references than its evocative qualities. The building delivered luxury amenities within forms that brought to mind romantic European origins. Certain stylistic details were associated with rustic settings elsewhere — steep roofs, turret-like corners, and long galleries that recalled Swiss chalets or Tudor structures. These helped build the Banff Springs Hotel's reputation as a luxurious setting, which in line with other high-end resorts was matched to a remote, high-altitude setting.

As a pavilion for viewing the landscape, the Banff Springs Hotel drew further links to its surroundings. This was especially important for early visitors, who looked to resort hotels for effortless modes of engagement with their natural surroundings. As John Jakle explains, “for

¹⁸⁹ Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada*, 10.

most tourists, the quest for nature was an inclination to pleasure, and not a dedication to truly profound comprehension.”¹⁹⁰ One of the most comfortable, effort-free forms of engagement with the natural setting was through scenic views. Tourists enjoyed panoramic views through the large windows and open platforms of observation cars, and the Banff Springs Hotel was designed to provide them with similar vistas. The hotel’s cliffside location was thus paramount to its planning: unlike the more usual rail-side positioning such as at Glacier, Fraser Canyon, and Mount Stephen House, the Banff Springs Hotel was situated several miles from the line, to occupy a promontory overlooking the confluence of the Bow and Spray rivers. Its original design featured a series of balconies cascading towards this view. Biographer Walter Vaughan recounts that Van Horne traveled to Banff in the summer of 1887 to find that the under-construction hotel had been laid out at 180 degrees from its intended orientation. The result was that the “million dollar view” was given to kitchen staff, while paying guests looked upon the pine trees of Sulphur Mountain. To rectify the situation, Van Horne sketched a rotunda pavilion to be constructed behind the kitchen, resurrecting the coveted view through a semi-enclosed structure that overlooked the river below [Figure 2-31].¹⁹¹ In later renovations, swimming pools filled with hot spring water would occupy a series of terraces at the back of the hotel, providing both easy access to the curative mineral waters and views of the river valley and mountains; a dining area with adjacent terraces would also look out onto the vista.

¹⁹⁰ Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*, 67.

¹⁹¹ Walter Vaughan, *Sir William Van Horne* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 151. Blueprints for the later rebuilding of the hotel in 1928 clearly indicate the orientation by phrases like “This way faces Bow River Valley and Mount Rundle,” “This way faces the Bow River and the Fairholm Range” and “This way faces Sulphur Mountain” — presumably to avoid repeating the error of misorientation. See Glenbow, HDF, M5788-22.

The hotel featured prominently in railway posters, brochures, and other publicity. Often, it was depicted as seen from Sulphur Mountain to the northwest of the structure [Figure 2-32]. From this elevated vantage point, the hotel appeared as an object in a remote, natural setting, surrounded by a ring of alpine peaks. The townsite and railway are out of view, to the northeast. At the same time that it features the hotel as an architectural object, this position shows the view obtainable from the hotel, of the Bow River and mountains beyond. The reader glimpses what a tourist would see from the mineral swimming pool, dining hall, or even perhaps their hotel room window. From Sulphur Mountain, the hotel appears as a bastion of civilization: the hotel is both a symbol of luxury arising from within the wilderness, and a luxurious vantage point from which to survey the natural world.

The C.P.R. Hotel System and the Emergence of a National Style

The Rocky Mountains formed the core of a widening tourist trade for the C.P.R. In 1891, the Company acquired three steamships to ply between Vancouver and ports in the Orient, attracting passengers who traversed Canada en route to Asia. An ameliorating economic climate after 1896 allowed more Canadians to travel, adding further to the clientele base.¹⁹² The number of first-class sleeping cars in use by the C.P.R. for their Rocky Mountain route is one measure of the increased tourist traffic that resulted: the service began with forty-six such cars in 1885, rising to sixty-one in 1890 and ninety-nine by 1894. Banff Springs Hotel registers are another indicator. These record 1,503 guests in its first season of June to October 1888, with numbers rising

¹⁹² Innis, *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 204.

steadily to reach 3,389 in 1891, holding steady, then jumping to 9,684 in 1904. The hotel recorded over 22,000 guests in 1911.¹⁹³

This rapid development of tourist traffic required the expansion of C.P.R. facilities. Various additions to the Banff Springs Hotel gradually expanded its capacity, but in 1910 customers were still being turned away or asked to stay in sleeping cars at the Banff siding.¹⁹⁴ Consequently, plans were made to construct a new, expanded hotel to the designs of C.P.R. architect William Painter — the original architect, Bruce Price, had died in 1903. Painter's design featured an eleven-story rock and concrete tower reminiscent in its massing of Price's early sketch, hot and cold swimming pools on three exterior terraces, and locally quarried Rundle limestone cladding. The central Painter Tower was completed in 1912, and side wings designed along similar lines by J.W. Orrock were constructed from 1926 to 1928 [Figure 2-33].

The new hotel ostensibly was designed in a Scottish baronial style, a nod in the direction of the Scottish directors of the C.P.R., including Lord Steven, after whose birthplace the town was named. "The baronial style of Banff Springs Hotel was no accident of design. It was chosen after much thought and research," explained a C.P.R. brochure, which likened the Banff landscapes to the "uplands of Scotland" with their "heath-covered moors," highland burns," and "northern

¹⁹³ Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Department of the Interior" and Sessional Papers, multiple years; Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 38, 41.

¹⁹⁴ Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 42.

Scotland's stags."¹⁹⁵ However, as with the original building, the architects strove less for historical accuracy than for the general evocation of an atmosphere. Consequently, the style of the Banff Springs Hotel frequently has been associated with the similar "Château Style" used for many of the C.P.R.'s other hotels.¹⁹⁶

By the time of Painter's design, the Château Style was fully apparent in the C.P.R.'s urban hotels, including the Château Frontenac in Quebec City (1892-93), Hotel Viger in Montreal (1896-98), and the Empress Hotel in Victoria (1904-08) [Figure 2-34]. Evoking a romanticized gothic, the style derived from the Scottish Baronial and was affected by a growing appreciation for French Second Empire design. Distinguishing characteristics included steeply pitched hipped roofs in copper, ornate gables and dormer windows, and the use of towers and turrets, which generated an irregular silhouette.¹⁹⁷ Architect Bruce Price described deployment of these features for the Château Frontenac as contextual: "the early French château adapted to modern

¹⁹⁵ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Banff Springs Hotel in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* (n.d.).

¹⁹⁶ For instance, Kalman writes that the Banff Spring Hotel "is best described as being in the Canadian Château style" and the hotel has been listed among buildings recommended for preservation as Château Style railway hotels. Harold D. Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture* (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2000), 335, Marc de Caraffe and Janet Wright, "Les Hotels de Style Château des Compagnies Ferroviaires," (Ottawa: Commission des Lieux et Monuments Historiques du Canada, 1980). Arguably, the new Banff Springs Hotel was subtly distinguished from its more distinct Château counterparts by features such as flat (rather than pointed) dormers, circular (rather than lancet) arches, and round-headed windows on the central tower, which point away from gothic castles and towards the Scottish baronial tradition. See Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 46. However, these are relatively subtle differences within a structure whose overall massing and shape conformed to the emerging Château idiom. Although the hotel could not be called a typical example of a Château Style hotel, it bore an unmistakable resemblance to the Château group.

¹⁹⁷ Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada*, 16-18.

requirements, a style certainly in keeping with the traditions of the old French city, and admirably suited to the situation where the angles are marked with circular towers and turrets.”¹⁹⁸

The style was, however, not unique to the Quebec site or to Canada at that time. As architectural historian Rhodri Liscombe has shown, the Château style was internationally known, and a factor in its choice for the Frontenac was “its association with luxury hotel architecture on both sides of the Atlantic, and with the current taste of American high society.”¹⁹⁹

However, in Canada, the story of the style took a different turn: around 1908, when the prestige of the Château Style had diminished elsewhere, Liscombe observes that the Château Style became “Canadianized” — that is, identified and appropriated as a national style. In that period, the C.P.R. completed an extension to the Château Frontenac and the rival transcontinental Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP) railway company adopted the style for its Château Laurier in Ottawa (1908-12), and for hotels in Winnipeg (1911-13) and Edmonton (1913-15). Further west, architect Francis Rattenbury conceived a series of Château Style resort hotels for the GTP, although their construction was suspended with the advent of WWI. Signaling a general adoption of the idiom as a railway trademark, in 1910 the C.P.R. renamed Lake Louise Chalet as “Château Lake Louise.”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Barr Ferree, “A Talk with Bruce Price,” *Great American Architects Series, Architectural Record*, no. 5 (1899): 82.

¹⁹⁹ Liscombe, “Nationalism or Cultural Imperialism? The Château Style in Canada,” 131. The style can be seen in such still-existing structures as the Dakota apartment building in New York City.

²⁰⁰ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bulletin* 22, Dec. 1910. Ironically, the hotel was destroyed in a fire and the replacement — built in two sections, one designed in 1912 by W.S.

Going beyond the railways, the Château Style subsequently became appropriated as a Canadian form of architecture on a national register. In 1916, the government's Federal Plan Commission was formed to develop a master plan for the national capital, Ottawa. The commission consulted with planner Edward H. Bennett, who had assisted Daniel Burnham in drawing up masterplans for several American cities in a City Beautiful style. In order to harmonize with the Parliament Buildings, the resulting report recommended that any new architecture should display:

vigorous silhouettes, steep roofs, pavilions and towers [...] In the design of these, inspiration may be derived from the close and sympathetic study of the beautiful buildings of Northern France of the 17th century.

Generally speaking, the external appearance of the Château Laurier [...] may be regarded [...] as a worthy suggestion.²⁰¹

The architectural preferences expressed by the report dominated government tastes well after its release.²⁰² In 1927, the Château Style was deployed for the Confederation Building, a prominent federal legislative structure in Ottawa, marking its official appropriation as a national style that extended beyond railway-sponsored architecture [Figure 2-35]. That year, the federal Minister of Public Works, the Hon. John C. Elliott, declared the Château Style to be "the type of architecture most suitable to our Northern climate."²⁰³

Painter and the other developed by Montreal firm Barott and Blackader in 1924, has smooth concrete walls and a square tower which make almost no reference to the Château mode.

²⁰¹ "Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull, 1915," (Ottawa: 1916), 110-11.

²⁰² de Caraffe and Wright, "Les Hotels de Style Château des Compagnies Ferroviaires," 350.

²⁰³ Liscombe, "Nationalism or Cultural Imperialism? The Château Style in Canada," 127, 40.

While European and American influences are evident — in the origins of the Château Style as an international trend as well as the influence of American architects and planners on its entry into Canada — the nationalization of the style remains significant. As architectural historian Christopher Thomas points out,

... clearly the mode has been wholeheartedly received as Canadian and has become Canadian by adoption and association. [...] The railways' image-makers retained American architects and adopted styles conceived for America, but romantically associated with topographical and racial notions of the North, to meet the corporations' and country's need for an iconic national architectural imagery. A generation later, recognizing the beauty and effectiveness of that imagery, the Canadian government in the inter-war period [...] expropriated, on Bennett's recommendation, the château imagery for its own purposes.²⁰⁴

The federal appropriation of the Château Style reflected the far-reaching influence of the railway and the resonance of the images of Canada it created. Occupying the most prominent locations across the country, the hotels formed a recognizable series of landmarks in both cities and remote settings. "Like the cathedral, [the railway hotel] had to be the dominating presence in the urban fabric, an eminence on the skyline," observes Abraham Rogatnick. "Whether it be on the desolate horizon of the infinitely flat prairie or silhouetted against a hovering mountain range, it is nearly always the railway hotel, the general symbol of the city's social and commercial life, that first comes into view, that first denotes an urban entity ahead."²⁰⁵ The heart of the chain, the hotels in the Rockies, presented a proposition echoed by their urban counterparts: as places of luxury in a remote natural setting, they were symbols of culture and bases for exploring the vast

²⁰⁴ Christopher Thomas, "'Canadian Castles'? The Question of National Styles in Architecture," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (1997): 22.

²⁰⁵ Rogatnick, "Canadian Castles," 368.

surrounding landscapes. The urban hotels similarly served as bastions for high social life within cities that were generally considered primitive by European standards.²⁰⁶

By 1912, when the Painter Tower of the Banff Springs Hotel was completed, the C.P.R. had created a network of sixteen hotels nationwide, bookended by the Empress Hotel in Victoria, British Columbia, on the Pacific Coast and the Algonquin Hotel at St. Andrews by the Sea, New Brunswick, on the Atlantic. The Rocky Mountain hotels comprised the visual and symbolic core of the chain. The turreted building sitting atop a rocky bluff and surrounded by pine forest was entirely a railway creation. But it was more. Realizing the most optimistic visions of the park's proponents, the mountain landscapes along with their castle-like hotel structures would come to assume the status of national icons.

The Canadian Pacific Rockies

While popularly perceived as a pristine natural preserve, the Rocky Mountains were in fact deliberately structured to meet cultural expectations of a civilized wilderness: a place where the comforts, and indeed luxuries of civilization were an essential part of the wilderness experience. The Canadian Pacific Railway played a critical role in creating this image, advocating for the designation of the park as a scenic reserve, building transportation and tourist infrastructure that shaped the landscape in certain ways and opened mountain views to visitors, and disseminating images and descriptions of the newly accessible landscapes to national and international audiences. International ideas were instrumental in the design and presentation of this alpine

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

landscape. The railway's specially designed cars encouraged viewing the landscape in motion, an idea derived from European ideas of the picturesque and modeled on American precedents of scenic rail tourism. While the mountains were presented in ways that evoked the sublime, the presence of civilized comforts, evocative of resorts in the Swiss Alps, drew European and American tourists to the Canadian mountains. The idea of creating a national park with railway resorts like the Banff Springs Hotel was inspired by similar models in the United States, and the architecture of the C.P.R. hotels gained prestige from evoking European precedents.

By the 1920s, the infrastructures of rail, park, and hotels that were completed by 1912 had been appropriated as characteristic Canadian institutions. The architecture and park created by the railway assumed national significance that went beyond the company's initial profit-making goals. Increasingly, the privately owned C.P.R. presented itself as a chief proponent of Canadian nationalism. As the railway assumed the role of a nation-building institution, the Western landscapes that it had aggressively promoted — and as early as 1900 had dubbed “the Canadian Pacific Rockies” — similarly gained in stature. The “wild” Rockies were sufficiently tamed by the civilizing structures of the railway for recreational uses and comfortable leisure alongside economic development.

The railway-initiated image of a “civilized wilderness” in the mountains resonated with an emerging sense of the nation as a vast territory in the process of being disciplined by the civilizing forces of “peace, order, and good government” undergirding Confederation. As an embodiment of the most advanced technology of the time, the railway itself enacted the incursion of civilization across the vast terrain that comprised the Dominion of Canada. The

images and narratives produced by the C.P.R. gave visual reality to what Pierre Berton would dub the “national dream” of the railway — an initial gesture towards creating a “civilized wilderness” at the scale of a nation.

The concept of wilderness in the Rockies embraced the amenities of civilization, and ultimately included the possibility for privileged tourism. The Rockies were seen as originally being a forbidding and dangerous environment; the C.P.R. created a path and nodes of inhabitation from which its sublime landscapes could be safely viewed. Similarly, a concept of the nation was emerging in which the large geographic landmass was (paradoxically) validated as wilderness by the presence of industry, commerce and government at strategic locations. Instead of being an unknown hinterland with no economic value, remote regions within Canada were increasingly seen as being filled with natural resources, available for physical extraction and development, or for consumption as scenery. The railway’s developments in the Rockies offered a model by rendering the mountains safe for tourists. The views that the C.P.R. opened bested the respected scenery of the Alps, and thus formed appropriate loci for a patriotic pride to take root, tinged to some degree by a rivalry with Continental conventions. The adoption of a Château Style for the Banff Springs and other hotels reinforced the idea of high civilization occupying the wilderness and rendering it useful; likewise, the turrets of the Confederation Building asserted the civilizing power of a central government over the vast territory of Canada.

These key icons of the nascent nation referred to Europe’s long-inhabited landscapes, where the presence of civilization was clearly felt. At the same time, Canada presented itself as preeminent: superior to the United States in its embrace of high civilization and its principles, and more

promising than Europe in its vast, naturally abundant territory. In the view of both the C.P.R. and federal authorities, Canada's potential resided in its identity as a place of "civilized wilderness," where tourists, investors, and residents might enjoy the sublime scenes and natural bounty of the land — while simultaneously being "comfortable" and remaining "in close touch with the world."

Chapter 3

A Fertile Wilderness: Irrigation and the C.P.R. Ready-Made Farms, 1909 - 1914

No power on earth can close upon the immigrant that fertile wilderness which offers resources to all industry — an oasis and refuge from all want.²⁰⁷

Just as the luxury hotels of the first chapter created a definitive image of the Rockies, the Canadian Pacific Railway also actively participated in reshaping the Southern Prairies, in its physical reality and as an imagined landscape. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the federal government and several railway companies, chief among which was the C.P.R., both independently and collectively promoted the Canadian Prairie West, encouraging agricultural settlement and development of the vast grasslands that extended across Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta and the former Northwest Territories. A large portion of one of the most intractable regions — a semi-arid zone known as Palliser's Triangle stretching some 375 miles from present-day Saskatoon to Calgary — became exclusively owned and marketed by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Its development and promotional efforts centered on creating a massive irrigation project and hundreds of ready-made farms from 1909 to 1919, which together recast the desert wasteland as a fertile wilderness [Figure 3-1].

This chapter examines the precedents, forms and policies of the ready-made farm program, focusing on its role in promoting a new landscape vision of the region to potential settlers. In

²⁰⁷ Allan Mcdonell. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), Mcdonell Papers, vol. 40, undated manuscript on the subject of Confederation. Quoted in Doug Oram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 102.

terms of scale, the railway's ready-made farm program was a minor footnote in the mass immigration to Canada's Western regions. Buoyed by federal government advertising as well as campaigns by private companies such as the C.P.R., two million people arrived in Canada in the period from 1896 to the First World War, increasing the population at large by 50 percent. Within this boom, the C.P.R. ready-made farm program lasted only five years, resulting in a mere 521 farmsteads.

Despite its relatively small scale, the C.P.R. ready-made farm program had an important regional impact in bringing mass irrigation to the semi-arid southwestern Prairies. Moreover, it exemplified a vision of the Prairies as a fertile agricultural region, which was promoted more broadly. The program additionally showcased the efforts of a cultural elite — who would prove influential in shaping ideals of Canadian nationalism — to attract British immigrants. My analysis demonstrates the pervasive role of British aesthetics in the planning, construction, and marketing of the ready-made farms. Reinforcing emerging regional and national identities, the C.P.R. depicted the farms as civilized communities in contrast to the supposedly primitive frontier developments associated with the American West. This image was particularly linked with irrigation, a modern farming technique internationally associated with the redemption of desert and marginal lands.²⁰⁸ In doing so, they created a vision of an ordered agricultural society and contributed to a new understanding of a major Canadian landscape.

²⁰⁸ Matthew Evenden, "Precarious Foundations: Irrigation, Environment, and Social Change in the Canadian Pacific Railway's Eastern Section, 1900-1930," *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006): 74-75.

Prairie Settlement and C.P.R. Irrigation

The ready-made farms are of particular interest since they were situated within one of the most desolate regions of the Prairie West — a semi-arid area that required large-scale irrigation for farming, and which was consequently the focus of major infrastructural investment and concerted promotional efforts by the C.P.R. This was the last section of the Prairies to be settled as agricultural land, completing a process inaugurated a half-century earlier.

As early as the seventeenth century, explorers and traders described the Prairie West — the grasslands of present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba — as a desert wasteland. The beginnings of a marked perceptual shift in viewing the territory can be traced to the late nineteenth century. Following the confederation of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1867, the new Dominion of Canada began reevaluating the territories in the Northwest section of the continent, a large part of which were held by the Hudson's Bay Company as a legacy of their fur trading empire. A group of Canadian expansionists led the identification and depiction of the former wasteland as a promised land — an untouched, "fertile wilderness" for both agricultural production and social renewal. The idea resonated with ideals of the American frontier myth, which looked to the occupation of untouched land in the West as a keystone for the development of American society. Engaging this vision of the area's potential, they pressured the newly created Canadian government to claim the Northwest Territories in 1869. Subsequently, the Canadian government, along with Western railways and other Prairie

boosters, developed and propagated the image of a fertile Prairie West to inspire a transformation of the region from a fur trading hinterland into an agricultural homeland.²⁰⁹

The encouragement of Western settlement was one of the cornerstones of the Conservative Party's National Policy in the late 1870s; by the 1890s, growing knowledge of dry farming techniques, along with lower freight rates to Montreal, had made the Prairies a viable agricultural region. Immigrants from Eastern Europe, the United States, and rural Ontario claimed free farmland from the government or purchased land from agencies including the railway companies in the vast region promoted as the "Last Best West" of the North American continent. The bulk of this settlement occupied the fertile parkland belt that extended northwest from Winnipeg toward Edmonton and then curved south to Calgary, following branch rail lines laid by the C.P.R. and main lines of its competitors, the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific.²¹⁰ While populated areas near Winnipeg were in considerable part settled by Canadians of British origin, immigrants to the West were largely German, Scandinavian, Eastern European, and American-born, many of whom settled in distinctive ethnic clusters.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ For more on the Canadian expansionist movement, see Owsam, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900*. An excellent study of changing perceptions of the Prairies can be found in R. Douglas Francis, *Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989).

²¹⁰ The majority of the townships in this belt had a population of two or more persons per square mile by 1906. See Kerr, Holdsworth, and Matthews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume III: Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891-1961*, 67-70., esp. plates 6, 17, 27; also cf. Christopher Andreae and Geoffrey Matthews, *Lines of Country: An Atlas of Railway and Waterway History in Canada* (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1997).

²¹¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, the limits of available agricultural land had been reached in the eastern half of the country, and many rural Ontario residents migrated to the Prairies. Kerr,

The settlement of the “Last Best West” was well underway by the turn of the century. However, the region west of modern-day Moose Jaw and extending into Southeastern Alberta, identified in John Palliser’s 1857 to 1859 surveys as an extension of the American desert to the south, remained virtually unsettled during that period, with the exception of some large ranches and the hamlet of Gleichen, a cattle shipping point.²¹² The so-called “Palliser’s Triangle” region was considered to have too dry a climate for farming. Initial government surveys had planned to route the transcontinental railway through the future site of Edmonton and across the Yellowhead Pass to the north, avoiding this region altogether.

In 1881 the private C.P.R., which had recently taken over responsibility for the railway construction from a failed state attempt to build the line, decided on a more direct southern route for its trunk line that traversed the semi-arid region. This new route would forestall possible incursions by American railroads, and significantly reduce construction costs and transcontinental transit times. It also crossed regions rich in coal, a valuable resource for train operation. Nevertheless, besides transcontinental passenger and cargo fares, the railway’s income depended on land sales and future revenue from agricultural freight transport. The company thus had significant incentive to encourage settlement of the territories along its entire length — including the unpromising Palliser’s Triangle.

Holdsworth, and Matthews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume III: Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891-1961*.

²¹² Harvey Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District* (MacLeod Printing & Mailing Ltd., 1979), 55.

Two decades after Palliser, explorer and botanist John Macoun re-surveyed the region in light of heightened expectations for the West.²¹³ In May 1881, he met with the railway directors and convinced them that a southern route would pass through land that was in fact well-suited for agriculture. Echoing the popular wisdom in the United States that “rain follows the plow,” he argued that precipitation could not penetrate a baked crust on the surface of the soil, but would if this crust were broken. “Thus,” he wrote, “the apparent aridity vanishes before the first efforts of husbandry.”²¹⁴ Although Macoun’s assessment was later contested, his vision for the region reflected a growing spirit of optimism shared by Western boosters and other writers of the period, and espoused by the hopeful C.P.R.

In order to prepare the region for agriculture, the C.P.R. acquired a solid block of land and planned a series of irrigation projects. In principle, the Canadian Pacific Railway’s 25 million-acre land grant from the Canadian government occupied alternate 640-acre sections, extending back twenty-four miles deep on each side of the Railway. However, the C.P.R. was only obliged to accept lands deemed “fairly fit for settlement,” with the remaining territory to be made up from other tracts. Because of this proviso, the Company was still due an area of 3.3 million acres by 1896. In 1903, they negotiated with the federal government to complete their land grant by accepting a solid block of land between Medicine Hat and Calgary, in the heart of Palliser’s

²¹³ Owsram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900*, 150.

²¹⁴ John Macoun, *Manitoba and the Great Northwest: The Field for Investment, the Home of the Emigrant* (London: T. C. Jack, 1883). Quoted in Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of Canada: Canada's History Illustrated with Original Maps* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2002).

Triangle. The C.P.R. thus gained control over the territory, taking charge of both constructing irrigation infrastructure as well as marketing the irrigation block lands. This stood in contrast to its responsibilities in other Western settlement lands, where the railway jointly promoted settlement with the Canadian government and other land holding companies.²¹⁵

The venture was massive — one of the world's largest irrigation undertakings of its time. Its Western and Eastern sections each comprised over a million acres, and a planned Central District occupied the remainder of the 3.3 million-acres [Figure 3-2]. Through a series of dams, reservoirs, and canals, the C.P.R. anticipated irrigating just under half of that area, creating irrigated and mixed irrigated-dry land farms throughout.²¹⁶ Construction of the Western section launched in 1904, and as the infrastructure neared completion in 1909, the C.P.R. began a settlement phase.

A “Fertile Wilderness”

The fundamental basis for marketing the region was a vision of naturally productive agricultural land. In describing the broader Prairies, expansionist Allan McDonnell boldly asserted that the land's unexploited fecundity created an imperative for occupation. “No power on earth can close

²¹⁵ Historian James Hedges describes the challenge as follows: “The problem confronting the Canadian Pacific was almost unique in the annals of railway colonization. Not only must it colonize irrigable lands but it must colonize them alone and unaided [...] the company must bring the buyers to Alberta, sell them the land, and teach them to farm.” James Blaine Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1939, 1971), 174.

²¹⁶ A. Mitchner, “The Bow River Scheme: The CPR's Irrigation Block,” in *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of the Nation*, ed. Hugh A. Dempsey (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 264.

upon the immigrant that fertile wilderness which offers resources to all industry — an oasis and refuge from all want,” he wrote.²¹⁷ In the case of Palliser’s Triangle, the image of a fertile wilderness took on even greater importance. The act of irrigation, the C.P.R. asserted, would make the wilderness fertile by activating the latent productivity of the apparently desolate terrain, resulting in land that not only enabled, but even demanded, agricultural use.²¹⁸

Instead of being a condition to be feared, the dry expansiveness of the Southern Prairies was thus celebrated insofar as it represented unexploited, rich land. Early C.P.R. promotional brochures for the irrigation district, including the aptly if erroneously titled *Facts Concerning the Bow River Valley*, emphasized the untapped natural wealth of the soil. “It is a fact that the richest lands in America lie in the vicinity of the 100th Meridian, where the rainfall is the lowest,” it informed readers. “In humid countries, the soil is continually subjected to leaching by heavy rains [...] The soil of the Irrigation Block [...] retains all the valuable constituents that nature has stored up during past centuries. It only awaits the plow to yield up its treasures.”²¹⁹ A later brochure advanced a similar argument, adding scientific terminology to lend it more weight:

²¹⁷ Public Archives of Canada (PAC), Mcdonell Papers, vol. 40, undated manuscript on the subject of Confederation. Quoted in Owsen, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900*, 102.

²¹⁸ This conversion of grassland to agricultural land, in this region and across the Prairies, lent weight to arguments for removing indigenous habitants who historically survived by hunting buffalo. First Nations were placed in reserves and forced to change from a livelihood based on subsistence hunting to agriculture, which was supposedly a more “civilized” form of existence. These and related issues will be discussed in Chapter 5.

²¹⁹ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Facts Concerning the Bow River Valley* (Calgary: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1909), 7.

The climate of South Central Alberta being neither humid nor arid but semi-arid in nature, there has been sufficient rain to grow a dense mat of buffalo grass on our prairies for centuries, but insufficient precipitation to leach or wash the plant foods from our soil as has been done in all humid sections. These soils therefore contain both the high nitrogen content of the humid soils and the high mineral plant food content of the arid soils, which makes an ideal combination and a most fertile soil that will withstand long years of cropping.²²⁰

If according to early brochures the soil was inherently fertile, irrigation was likewise not far removed from being cast as a natural act. Although it required extensive construction, the Western District's irrigation system was depicted as an almost natural extension of the Bow River landscape.²²¹ One photograph that appeared repeatedly in brochures and booklets — including twice in a 1909 booklet series on farming in the Bow River Valley — shows the headgates of the canal as seen from downstream [Figure 3-3]. The canal itself is curved, and has sloped, planted banks that ape a natural stream. In mid-ground, the Bow River crosses the image, and a settlement can be glimpsed amidst the trees beyond. The scene includes a boatman plying his vessel down the canal, and a wisp of smoke curls into the sky in the background. These details conformed to the picturesque landscape expectations discussed in the first chapter. The winding form of the canal recalled the irregular lines preferred in picturesque compositions, the

²²⁰ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department. *Irrigation Farming in Sunny Alberta*. Chicago: M. Kallis & Company, 1921, 8.

²²¹ Irrigating the Western section was relatively straightforward, requiring a simple diversion of the Bow River into a natural hollow that served as a reservoir. However, the irrigation network still entailed considerable construction — a 2,000 foot-long earth dam was built to a 30-foot height to create the reservoir, and thousands of headgates, spillways, drops, flumes, and bridges were erected, consuming 10 million board feet of timber and over four thousand cubic yards of reinforced cement. According to internal reports, over 10 million cubic yards of earth were excavated during the project. This extensive engineering transformed the land and landscape significantly, by not only changing waterflows through the region but also altering its topography. See Western Irrigation District Annual Report, 1911. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-577a and Dave Jones, "Early West Blossoms with Irrigation," *CP Rail News*, August 1987.

inclusion of a boat evoked Gilpin's accounts of travel down the river Wye, and even smoke was considered a stock picturesque element.²²² In an album commemorating the irrigation district issued in 1909, boaters were again depicted on the canal — this time, a party of four in a pair of canoes [Figure 3-4]. Although boats often were used for canal upkeep, the parties in both images seem to be on pleasure trips, rather than engaged in maintenance work. These depictions of canals as recreational waterways, rather than as infrastructural channels, clearly associated the canals with natural waterways.²²³

The choice to present the irrigation infrastructure in a naturalistic fashion in these visual presentations was echoed in their accompanying texts. The narrative in the Bow River Valley series of 1909 never discusses infrastructure used for irrigation directly. Rather, it emphasizes the natural derivation of irrigation and its ease of use: "The broad plains of Southern Alberta, rich in the fertility of the soil, are watered now by large numbers of irrigation ditches and canals and the occasional lightness of the rainfall thus stands no longer in the way of this great district

²²² Gilpin commented that industrial smokestacks could add to the painting-like qualities of a scene. See Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770*, 22.

²²³ This discussion has only treated the depiction of infrastructures in the Western Irrigation District. Notably, depictions of the Eastern Irrigation District infrastructure, completed in 1913, generally showed the concrete Brooks dam as a massive, heroic structure in the tradition of modernist architecture. This image of modernity was to some extent contradicted by the dam's control works — housed in a half-timbered, Swiss-styled building that spanned the length of the dam (see inset, Figure 3-19). However, since most depictions of the Eastern District and Brooks dam appear in the 1920s after the end of the ready-made farm program discussed in this chapter, they will not be considered in the scope of this present study.

becoming a land teeming with prosperous farmers and stock feeders.”²²⁴ Instead of man-made canals and ditches, the accompanying photograph shows a mountain stream, captioned “Where Nature Supplies the Water — A Living Spring” [Figure 3-5]. The natural origin of the water is echoed by claims for its intuitive deployment. “Irrigation farming is simplicity itself. The most successful community of irrigation farmers in Southern Alberta to-day is one composed wholly of settlers who never saw an irrigation farm before they came to the province,” states the introductory brochure in the series.²²⁵ The land was seemingly ready to blossom with the simple re-direction of water.

Agrarian Ideals and the Ready-Made Farm Concept

The concept of a “fertile wilderness” extended beyond agriculture per se with the ready-made farm colonies, which proposed that the Southern Prairies were also fruitful ground for seeding new, civilized communities. Although constructing irrigation infrastructure comprised the bulk of the C.P.R.’s financial investment in the area, the showpiece of its marketing campaign was a series of ready-made farms. The farms were grouped in colonies and each was to be equipped with a house, barn, implement shed, and fencing, as well as fifty acres of ready-ploughed and sowed land [Figures 3-1 and 3-6]. The form of the individual farmsteads, their envisaged grouping in rural communities, and the promotional depiction of the farms and surrounding lands advanced a vision of the region related to British picturesque aesthetics, reflecting the values of its prospective audience.

²²⁴ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Animal Husbandry in the Kingdom of Alfalfa* (Calgary: 1909), 6.

²²⁵ ———, *Facts Concerning the Bow River Valley*, 30-31.

The ready-made farm colonies were intended for a specific type of settler: married, British, with a moderate amount of capital and, preferably, previous agricultural experience. In 1909, the C.P.R. launched the twenty-four-farm Nightingale Colony with an upbeat advertising campaign in British newspapers [Figure 3-7]. One text proclaimed: “In order to save the settler the inconvenience of having to build his house, fence, and prepare his land in his first year while he would rather be attending to his crops, the Canadian Pacific Railway has prepared a number of Ready-Made Farms,” noting in bold type, “they are reserved for British Settlers.”²²⁶ Such marketing was consonant with an Anglo-Canadian vision of the West as an extension of the British Empire and combated a perceived cultural threat posed by an influx of Slavic immigrants into Western Canada at the turn of the century.²²⁷

The broader rhetoric of ready-made farm colonies also targeted a British audience. Raymond Williams has observed that an image of the “country” is periodically advanced as a compensatory cultural ideal against a contrasting idea of the “city.” As Britain became predominantly industrial and urban, domestic agricultural production declined and colonial

²²⁶ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, “Emigration: Ready-Made Farms in Western Canada,” *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 30 1910.

²²⁷ See Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900*, 125-48. Throughout the early twentieth century, the annual parliamentary report of the deputy minister of the department of the interior included a section dedicated to the subject of “British Immigration.” In 1897, the department recorded 11,383 immigrants from the British Isles, 2,421 from the USA, and 7,921 from other countries. By 1914, the numbers from the three groups had come close to being equal: 142,622 immigrants arrived from the British Isles, 107,530 from the USA, and 134,726 from other countries. That year, the minister noted, “I have again the pleasure of recording another successful year in the history of immigration from the British Isles.” See Canada, “Report of the Department of the Interior,” 39.

territories abroad began functioning as the empire's food sources. One of the effects of this developing global landscape, Williams noted, was the mid-nineteenth century idea that emigration would solve rural displacement and urban overcrowding in England. Characters in popular novels escaped to distant lands such as Canada to realize a countryside ideal that was becoming ever more elusive in England.²²⁸

Within England itself, prototypes of small-scale rural existence persisted in the village typology, in which small, independent cottages were arrayed along a main road or around a park-like green. The first planned villages were eighteenth-century settlements at the gates of large British domains, created when older hamlets were removed from within estate boundaries. By the late nineteenth century, the planned village was considered an appropriate form for emerging charitable institutions such as orphanages, which hoped to achieve moral reform by offering sanitary environments composed of family-like living units.²²⁹

Larger-scale rural schemes drew on similar social utopian premises, promising to alleviate both the physical ills and ugly surroundings associated with poverty through the provision of grouped, small-scale dwellings in semi-rural environments. In the 1820s, Welsh industrialist John Moggridge established a series of so-called “ready-made villages” for working-class inhabitants, offering an alternative model to prevailing urban developments. Blackwood, Ynysddu and Trelyn were set in landscapes with mature trees and a central green; Moggridge leased small

²²⁸ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 280-81.

²²⁹ Gillian Darley, *Villages of Vision* (London: Architectural Press, 1975), 54.

plots to local miners and granted loans to assist them in building their own cottages.²³⁰ In the same decade, reformer William Allen successfully founded a community of small land-holders in Sussex, occupying one of its twenty-five pre-built cottages himself. The experiment served as the basis for his proposal for “Colonies at Home” comprised of larger groupings of standardized rental cottages [Figure 3-8]. In Allen’s scheme, each house would sit on a three-acre plot of land scientifically calculated as sufficient area to supply the household with food; income from a cottage handicraft industry would produce the capital needed to eventually purchase the property. A Benevolent Society would provide initial funding and was charged with encouraging moral, fiscal, and agricultural order within the colony.²³¹

In parallel with these social reform movements, British architects and designers were becoming increasingly concerned with rural aesthetics. The idea of creating decorated farms can be traced back to Virgil’s praise for rural environments combining beauty and utility in his *Georgics*, and more recently, would be seen in eighteenth-century examples of the *ferme ornée*, exemplified by Philip Southcote’s Wooburn Farm, near Chertsey in Surrey, and William Shenstone’s The Leasowes, near the village of Halesowen in Shropshire.²³² Thomas Whateley’s *Observations on Modern Gardening*, first published in 1770, included an influential attempt to codify the

²³⁰ Ibid., 82.

²³¹ William Allen, *Colonies at Home, or, The Means for Rendering the Industrious Labourer Independent of Parish Relief and for Providing for the Poor Population of Ireland by the Cultivation of the Soil* (C. Greene, 1826).

²³² For a detailed account of the links between the *ferme ornée* and the model farm, see Laura B. Sayre, "Locating the Georgic: From the *Ferme Ornée* to the Model Farm," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Design Landscapes* 22, no. 3 (2002).

aesthetics of “improved” agricultural landscapes. Whately presented Wooburn and The Leasowes as examples, and described an ideal “simple farm” relying on what he called the self-evident attractions of “natural” rural scenery. His ideal agricultural landscape included working fields as well as buildings blended with trees and arranged in picturesque compositions.²³³ These upper-middle class estates, which were modest in size compared to upper-class holdings, would have appealed to the aspiring landowners that the C.P.R. targeted for their ready-made farms.

Model farmsteads in the English countryside, consciously built and planned as complete units, began an ascendancy that reached a peak of popularity in the 1850s. These farms were tied to a land tenure framework in which the gentry who owned much of the countryside provided tenant farmers with farm buildings.²³⁴ The buildings were seen as opportunities to create picturesque elements within the larger landscape. Like the picturesque landscaping discussed earlier, picturesque architecture was associated with rural informality, valued visual intricacy and stood in opposition to formal, symmetrical designs.

Since the eighteenth century, British pattern books presented examples of idealized rural architecture. The genre culminated in a mid-nineteenth century series of volumes by John Claudius Loudon, whose writings on the topic complimented his extensive publications on horticulture and landscape design. As a self-appointed heir to the designer Humphrey Repton,

²³³ Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London: T. Payne, 1770), 175. Quoted in Sayre, "Locating the Georgic: From the *Ferme Ornée* to the Model Farm," 175.

²³⁴ Susanna Wade Martins and English Heritage, *The English Model Farm: Building the Agricultural Ideal, 1700-1914* (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2002), 1, 8-9.

whose oeuvre he had republished in 1840, Loudon sought to expand on his predecessor's aesthetic. Repton had objected to the blending of farm and park landscapes: farm fields, he noted, demanded straight lines, trimmed hedges and animals at work, while the Reptonian park required uneven borders, trees left to find their "natural" form, and animals at rest. However, as Laura Sayre argues, Repton's main concern may have been to distinguish between the pleasure grounds of his gentleman-farmer clients, and the utility-oriented fields of their tenants. Loudon took a different tack, articulating these differences through architecture.²³⁵ While landowners were to occupy highly ornamented buildings, he recommended simplified, smaller structures for tenant farmers.

Several of the designer and prolific author's tomes presented models for picturesque rural structures along a hierarchy of complexity, which extended to cottages for workers.²³⁶ On the one hand, he hoped to improve farm workers' living conditions; on the other, his interest tracked a broader change in the status of the country from a site of labor to a place of potential leisure and escape from the city. "The practice of agriculture, from having been chiefly confined to men of humble station, who pursued it as a matter of business or profit, has of late years been engaged in

²³⁵ Sayre, "Locating the Georgic: From the *Ferme Ornée* to the Model Farm," 183.

²³⁶ The influence of Loudon's publications would extend well past his lifetime and to colonies abroad. Across the Atlantic, his influence could be seen in Andrew Jackson Downing's *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America*, published the year after Loudon's republication of Repton's collected works. For his influence in Australia, see Colleen Morris, "The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: John Claudius Loudon and his Influence in the Australian Colonies," *Garden History* 32, no. 1 (2004): 101.

by men of rank, and other opulent or amateur practitioners, as a matter of taste and recreation,”²³⁷ he explained in the introduction to an 1844 edition of his *Encyclopædia of Agriculture*. The upper classes’ interest conferred new importance to the aesthetics of farmsteads, which Loudon saw as a direct measure of an area’s success:

How much of the beauty of a country, and of the ideas of the comfort and happiness of its inhabitants, depends on the appearance of its farmhouses and cottages, every traveler is aware; and every agriculturist who has traveled through the British Isles can recognize at once a well cultivated district by the forms of the farm-yards and the position of the farmer’s dwelling-house.²³⁸

Loudon proposed grand farmhouses and clean-lined labourers’ cottages to replace the “scattered straggling hovels of all sizes and shapes, monstrous barns, and rickety shapeless farm-houses” that would indicate “a low state of culture, and an ignorant tasteless set of occupiers.”²³⁹ Just as picturesque garden designs were meant for appreciation by an elite class,²⁴⁰ Loudon’s proposals for well-arranged dwellings aimed at garnering the admiration of an educated elite as much as for sanitary reform: these were places to be inhabited as well as seen. By lending an increased level of aesthetic sophistication to rural landscapes, he thus proposed that the countryside might become “cultivated” in more than one sense [Figure 3-9].

²³⁷ J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1844).

²³⁸ Ibid., 453. See also ———, *An Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, New ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1846).

²³⁹ Loudon, *An Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, 453.

²⁴⁰ See Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

The farms grouped in social colonies at the heart of the C.P.R. scheme recall Loudon's designs, striking a balance between his simple farm workers' dwellings and his more lavish freestanding villas for landowners. The C.P.R. farms included fully built homes, paired with color-coordinated barns and outbuildings. This strategy resonated with Loudon's idea of a coherent farm community aesthetic. Instead of individually designed houses, the community was designed as a whole, with homesteads in matching styles and materials. Together, the "farm colonies" would offer a model farm-type environment familiar to British tenant farmers, while also offering them the possibility of land ownership, which was more difficult to achieve in Britain.

The coordinated architectural design of the homesteads suggested cooperation between like-minded British homesteaders, united by their civilized dwellings and racial background. At the time, a distinct anti-foreign sentiment was beginning to pervade the West, generated largely by the Anglo-Celtic community in Canada. Writers such as Basil Stewart objected to the Eastern European homesteaders favored by federal immigration policy, believing it in the Empire's best interest if Canada were to restrict immigration to "people of her own race, her own aspirations, her own language, brought to acknowledge the same law, same king, and the same flag."²⁴¹ An all-British colony was seen as sheltering its inhabitants from "foreigners," allowing them to establish a self-contained community of mutual support. Within these protected colonies, an ease of social relationship could then prevail between inhabitants. This fit with a longstanding

²⁴¹ Basil Stewart, *The Land of the Maple Leaf, or, Canada as I Saw it* (London: G. Routledge, 1908). Quoted in Robert Gordon and Douglas O'ram Moyses, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 131.

perception of British America as a place that mixed British respectability with a dose of egalitarianism, evading many of the class-bound conventions of the United Kingdom.²⁴²

The developed character of the ready-made homes presented a highly visible contrast to the make-shift sod huts common as pioneer Prairie dwellings, distinguishing the British settlers as a separate, advanced community. Glass slide presentations, presented by C.P.R. representatives, placed the farms within a narrative of progress: a sequence held by the Glenbow archives, likely intended for lectures to British audiences,²⁴³ showed makeshift pioneer wagons and crumbling sod huts, followed immediately by images of trim ready-made farms [Figure 3-10]. Later slides showed established farms with multi-story brick farmhouses and several barns, indicating a higher level of success that ready-made farmers might hope soon to achieve. The slides showcased the farms' aesthetic as indicative of an advanced level of civilization, embracing Loudon's assertion that aesthetically harmonious farmsteads signaled moral and civic virtue.

The alignment of the Canadian ready-made farm program with British ideals of neat, village-style developments on relatively small agricultural holdings is also apparent when contrasted to rural ideals in the United States, which emphasized self-sufficiency. As described by historian Henry Nash Smith, a Jeffersonian ideal of the free yeoman farmer became one of the dominant symbols of nineteenth-century America. Moral value was assigned to agricultural labor,

²⁴² D. M. R. Bentley, "Canadian Architexts: Essays on Literature and Architecture in Canada, 1759-2005," (2005), chapter 2.

²⁴³ Nightingale settler Hal Carleton made yearly trips to Britain to deliver glass slide lectures on behalf of the C.P.R., with the goal of recruiting new ready-made farm settlers. This set of images seems a likely sequence for presenting the topic. See Glenbow, LSDF, S-30.

transforming the farmer into a quasi-heroic figure. The vision of a Western frontier occupied by agricultural pioneers informed the 1862 Homestead Act, which surveyed the American West according to a uniform grid and granted 160-acre quarter sections of land to aspiring agriculturalists — areas over twice as large as the average 63-acre British farm, and one and a half times larger than the typical 100-acre Ontario allocation.²⁴⁴ The size of these grants reflected the vast scale of the American interior, but also anticipated the relative independence of each homesteader in relation to his neighbors. In a developing national mythology, transformation of America by individual endeavor was cast as the basic principle that would eventually lead to the formation of institutions. Frederick Jackson Turner famously celebrated this aspect of the agricultural frontier as formative of a common American character: “that dominant individualism [...] that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom [...] these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier,” he noted in his speech at the World’s Columbian Exhibition in 1893.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ In Western Canada, the Dominion Lands Survey followed the American lead in designating 160 acre farms, on the grounds that this scheme was already known to emigrants worldwide. P. E. Dewey, *British Agriculture in the First World War* (London: Routledge, 1989), 7-8.; R. Louis Gentilcore and Geoffrey J. Matthews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume II: The Land Transformed, 1800-1891* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

²⁴⁵ Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 60. While later historians have debated the factual accuracy of Turner’s view, they have also widely acknowledged the impact of its symbolism in the development of America. See Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), Richard White, Patricia Nelson Limerick, and James R. Grossman, *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26, 1994 - January 7, 1995* (Chicago and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

In terms of architecture, this attitude of independence was manifested in a genre of rural self-building manuals particular to the United States. One manual for new agriculturalists, *Todd's Country Houses and How to Save Money* is an early example of the type, with a central chapter dedicated to a first-hand house-building account. Todd's narration stressed the economies obtained by relying on the farmer's own labor. Emphasizing physical as well as psychological independence, Todd recommended locating farmhouses at the center point of new farms, for convenience of access to the fields and to protect the inhabitants from "ill ways, ill markets, and ill neighbors." If situated on the main highway, Todd warned, "every itinerant interloper that travels the streets, by raising on tip-toe, may peep into the parlor or bed-room windows."²⁴⁶

In comparison, British manuals from the same period presumed that landowners would hire builders. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* included detailed specifications for the work to be completed by various specialized workers. Decades later, the preface for John Scott's *Farm Buildings: A Practical Treatise* cautioned: "it is not [...]" recommended to agriculturists to become their own architects and builders." Echoing Loudon,

²⁴⁶ Sereno Edwards Todd, *Todd's Country Homes and How to Save Money. A Practical Book by a Practical Man*. (Philadelphia: Bradley & Company, 1876), 73, 38-39. Other examples of this genre include George Hill, *Practical Suggestions for Farm Buildings*, Farmers Bulletin (Washington: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1901), George B. Fiske, *Poultry Architecture: A Practical Guide for Construction of Poultry Houses, Coops and Yards* (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1902), Karl John Theodore Ekblaw, *Farm Structures* (New York: MacMillan, 1914), H. Armstrong Roberts, *The Farmer his Own Builder* (Philadelphia: D. McKay, 1918). Related books emphasize practicality by compiling "actual construction by actual men," in contrast with the model dwellings proposed by Loudon, for instance see The Breeder's Gazette, *Farm Buildings* (Chicago: Sanders Publishing Company, 1911).

Scott included a complete specification for the work to be completed by outside labor.²⁴⁷

Aligning its program with British ideals, C.P.R. president Thomas Shaughnessy contrasted the ready-made aspect of its homesteads to self-built American farms. “The American, even the wealthy American, will build himself a rough hut and live in it for a season or two while making a start,” he explained, invoking a generalized image of the American frontier. “The Englishman does not like this, yet he wants land.”²⁴⁸

The ready-made farms thus presented an ideal blend of opportunities for British emigrants: pre-built farms designed in line with picturesque concerns for rural aesthetics, a sense of community distinguished from both Slavic immigrants and American farmers, and the prospect of eventual land ownership — outcomes associated with the privileged classes in England. The opportunity for independent land ownership associated with North America was balanced by the use of a village typology in the ready-made farms, which promised a degree of community structure and recalled the paternalistic care proffered by earlier semi-rural developments in Britain.

This mix of ideals was articulated in Shaughnessy’s reaction to a 1907 version of the British Small Agricultural Holdings Act, which enabled county councils to acquire land subdivided from

²⁴⁷ John Scott, *Farm Buildings: A Practical Treatise* (London: Crosby Lockwood and Co., 1884), v-vi. Other examples include Henry Stephens and Robert Scott Burn, *The Book of Farm-Buildings: Their Arrangement and Construction* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1861), A. Dudley Clarke, *Farm Buildings: Their Construction and Arrangement* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1895), Samuel Taylor, *Modern Homesteads: A Practical and Illustrated Treatise on the Designing of Farm Buildings, Farm Houses and Cottages* (London: The Land Agents' Record, 1905), Charles P. Lawrence, *Economic Farm Buildings* (London: The Library Press Limited, 1919).

²⁴⁸ "Ready-Made Farms," *The Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 16 1910.

large estates to rent to men desiring to establish independent small farms. An enthusiastic response testified to the program's appeal: in the final round of distributions, thirty-five thousand applicants vied for leases on one thousand and six hundred plots. Shaughnessy believed that the failed applicants were potential ready-made farmers. "We propose to prepare land for this class of small holder," he announced. "We will build his house, fence his holding, break part of the soil, and sow it, so that he can come down and find all ready for him to settle down."²⁴⁹ As originally formulated, the concept of pre-built farm colonies thus tapped into the aspirations of hard-working British farm labourers for land ownership, enticing them with the convenience and familiarity of a pre-made farm.

The "English Colony" at Nightingale, Alberta

Prior to the C.P.R. program, several commercial colonization companies attempted to market pre-built tenant farms on the Canadian Prairies. In the early 1880s, the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company acquired 64,000 acres intending to establish 300 tenant farms each with a house, stable, and shed — although in the end they constructed only one model farm and twenty-two cottages. Another attempt sponsored by the Anglican Churchbridge Colonization Land Society in 1887 offered prospective British colonists rudimentary two-room wooden houses on forty-acre land tracts [Figure 3-11]. Their nearby Commercial Colony furnished pre-built houses with the requisite supplies to start farming; settlers were obliged to post bonds on these assets

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

and pay interest on the outstanding debt. In all three cases, construction was of a very low standard, with no interior finishes.²⁵⁰

As early as 1885, the C.P.R. considered entering the ready-made farm market. Company records from that year include a circular sent by Keewatin Lumbering & Manufacturing to then C.P.R. vice-president William Cornelius Van Horne, explaining their portable house system.

Correspondence in 1894 between Van Horne and P.J. Hamilton, a Winnipeg-based C.P.R. land commissioner, pointed to more serious research on ready-made farms. In one letter, Hamilton estimated the costs for establishing a settler in a fully equipped, company-built house, including the cost of furnishings, livestock and farm tools. However, Hamilton ultimately recommended against a ready-made farm scheme. “I do not think it possible for the farmer to start on a homestead saddled with a debt of \$1500.00 with the view of ultimately discharging the loan with interest,” he wrote, suggesting that this money would be better invested through smaller loans to settlers who already possessed furniture and farm implements. “We could procure first class settlers from the United States by advancing say \$500.00 [to] a family sufficient to pay the charges for moving over into the Country and furnishing them with some lumber, provisions etc.”²⁵¹ Heeding Hamilton’s advice, the C.P.R. did not enter the ready-made farm market at that time.

²⁵⁰ G. E. Mills, *Buying Wood & Building Farms: Marketing Lumber and Farm Building Designs on the Canadian Prairies, 1880 to 1920* (Ottawa: National Historic Sites, 1991), 54-55.

²⁵¹ Letter from Hamilton to Van Horne, Oct. 25th 1894. Canadian Pacific (CP) Archives.

Several factors entered in the C.P.R.'s decision to produce ready-made farms a decade later. A twin impetus for the program came from the Salvation Army of England's announced intention, in the spring of 1909, to sponsor a program of assisted land settlement in Canada, along with a contemporaneous proposal for a Dutch settlement on irrigation farms "improved" with a house and cultivated land.²⁵² On October 9, 1909, the *Strathmore Standard* reported that the Salvation Army had purchased land for 120 British settlers and planned to sponsor a settlement colony similar to those it already had created in other parts of the world. Work was contracted out to the Canadian Pacific Irrigation Colonization Company (CPICC), a C.P.R. subsidiary that since the previous year had initiated development of farms for absentee clients from England and North America.²⁵³ In 1909, they took on over one hundred contracts to break and seed some twelve thousand acres of land, erect 125 miles of fence, and build nine houses. The enterprise took the Salvation Army settlement in its stride, erecting structures and preparing a 2 ½ mile-long strip of land through the adjacent farms.²⁵⁴ "Fences and buildings have already been erected by the company, land plowed and sown with fall wheat," the *Standard* reported that winter.²⁵⁵

By March of the following year, the Salvation Army had apparently relinquished interest. The C.P.R. accordingly took up the role of marketing and settling the twenty-four quarter section

²⁵² Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 223.

²⁵³ The CPICC was created in 1905 to recruit settlers to the irrigation district. Its role of preparing farms was assumed by a new development department within the CPICC, which in its early years described its work as "Home Making by Contract."

²⁵⁴ Bob Newall, in Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 115.

²⁵⁵ "Farm Development," *Strathmore Standard*, Jan. 8 1910.

farms already prepared in the Irricana district. However, rather than simply selling the two dozen improved farmsteads, it used them as the springboard for a much broader campaign which would last almost a decade, surpassing previous short-lived schemes for pre-built Canadian farms in scope and scale. Rather than producing patchwork developments on conventional agricultural land, the C.P.R. intended to settle thousands of British farmers in stable, high-density communities on irrigated lands in the Alberta dry belt.²⁵⁶ Targeting buyers of moderate means, the farms would be secured with a 250-pound downpayment and paid off, with interest, over ten years.²⁵⁷

On March 26, 1910, nineteen farm families set sail from Liverpool, England, en route to the first C.P.R. ready-made farms in the Irricana district of Alberta, Canada. The head of each family possessed from 500 to 1000 pounds, a fact that for the local paper demonstrated “that these settlers are of a very good class.”²⁵⁸ In addition to capital, farming experience was another prerequisite for the program, and the C.P.R. vowed to select only experienced yeoman agriculturalists. However, descriptions of the first party indicate that the requisite farming experience was interpreted very broadly: the party included an engineer, a former innkeeper, a

²⁵⁶ Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 224.

²⁵⁷ The cost of work was added to the sale price of the farm; the buyer paid one-tenth of the price down, then the balance in nine equal installments with six percent annual interest. In 1913, payment terms for the farm were extended from a 10- to a 20-year contract to relieve the financial burden of crop losses in 1911 and 1912; in the wake of another period of drought in 1923 the terms were extended to 34 years. Letter from Naismith to Murray, March 15, 1913, Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-18.

²⁵⁸ Roughly, this converted to \$2,500 to \$5,000 Canadian dollars. "From the Old Country," *Strathmore Standard*, April 10 1910.

retired civil servant, an army pensioner, a builder, a coachman, and a veterinary surgeon.²⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the local press welcomed the newcomers as seasoned farmers who “have spent a lifetime tilling the soil in the old country” and simply lacked experience in the particular terrain of the Canadian West.²⁶⁰ Subsequent ready-made farms would continue to attract a broad spectrum of settlers, who were often less than prepared for irrigation farming.

The first colony — known locally as the English Colony, and later rechristened Nightingale by its inhabitants — consisted of a group of relatively simple, box-like houses, on 28' x 12' floorplates [Figure 3-12].²⁶¹ Each house was divided up into three rooms — a 12' x 12' kitchen-sitting room and two 8' x 12' bedrooms, and furnished with straw mattresses as well as a crib at the foot of the master bed.²⁶² A single door was centrally set on the long side of the dwelling, and small, square windows pierced the back wall and each of the end walls. A metal pipe chimney marked a stove that would have served for both cooking and heating the home. A water pump, small barn and outhouse accompanied the structures. To add variety, the houses were painted in either white or green.²⁶³ As rancher Bud Cotton recalled,

It looked like an ideal setup; each eighty plot fenced with its newly-erected cottage, barn and pump, all painted brightly [...] a brand-new settlement awaiting

²⁵⁹ "30,000 English Farmers Embarking for America," *Atlanta Constitution*, May 1 1910.

²⁶⁰ "From the Old Country."

²⁶¹ These dimensions are given in Georgina Binnie-Clark, "Ready-Made Farms, Why the Settlers are so Content," *Strathmore Standard*, Oct. 29 1910.

²⁶² Bob Newall and Mae Firth, in Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 105, 15.

²⁶³ Ted Pool in *Ibid.*, 95.

the coming of its tenants from England [...] that morning as we trailed over the ridges and looked down onto those cozy looking homes, so proud with their new paint and trimmings, it was such a contrast to the shacks on the new homesteads that were appearing on the prairie in ever increasing numbers.²⁶⁴

Settlers newly arrived from Britain had a different outlook. Flora Fletcher, whose parents were in the first group of colonists, recalled her father's first impressions of their homestead. "He described the house as being 'like a chicken coop', and the whole lay-out a most discouraging prospect. Advertised in the British Isles as being the best of land with a comfortable family-sized home, complete with basement and furnace and other desirable features, nothing could be further from the truth."²⁶⁵ Like many others in the colony, Fletcher's family debated whether to stay with the enterprise, and eventually stuck it out despite their initial disappointment.

While illustrations of box-like houses similar to those at Nightingale appeared in early ready-made farm publicity, they were replaced with more elaborate renderings as the C.P.R. expanded the program. In 1910, farms were added at Cairnhill, Crossfield, and Sedgewick. Each development was assigned to a local contractor — the Alberta Construction Company built the farms at Sedgewick, while the Crown Lumber Company was responsible for fourteen farms at Crossfield.²⁶⁶ The designs presented modest improvements: plans from the Sedgewick-based Alberta Construction Co., for instance, show a gabled three-room house on an L-shaped plan, with some interior spaces for a storage closet and pantry [Figure 3-13]. Despite their more refined aesthetics and the avowal of a local paper that the "new buildings are substantially

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 34-35.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 75.

²⁶⁶ "More Ready-Made Farms," *Strathmore Standard*, Sept. 3 1910.

erected according to artistic designs,”²⁶⁷ inhabitants reported that the houses were flimsy constructions. Settler Edwin Snowsell complained that, “these C.P.R. cottages were frame structures, no insulation of any kind, 2 by 4 joists, tarpaper and drop siding on the outside; inside, laths and plaster directly on the joists.” The thin walls provided little protection against the harsh winters, when water would freeze inside kettles. As a consequence, recalls Snowsell’s son Frank, the family “like most settlers, banked the house outside up to the level of the windows with barnyard manure to help keep out the frost.”²⁶⁸

The next year, the C.P.R.’s architecture offices in Calgary prepared their own set of house designs, engaging local contractors to realize construction to the railway’s higher standards. The Calgary- and Sedgewick-based contractors Hayden & Skeene built 99 of the 150 ready-made farms completed in 1911. Each included a four-roomed house with porch and a saltbox barn, both finished with coordinated trim and siding colors. The following year, these more elaborate designs appeared in a presentation book for the ready-made farm program, which included five different house plans, two barn layouts, and two exterior color schemes [Figures 3-14, 3-15]. The dwellings were detailed with columns topped by simple capitals and framed dormer windows. Inside, kitchens were finished with wainscoting and equipped with storage cupboards. Contrasting shingles and wood siding distinguished the ground and loft levels of houses and barns, while a choice of paint colors proposed matching trim, wall, and shingle tones. An

²⁶⁷ "Ready-Made Farms Completed," *Strathmore Standard*, Oct. 10 1910.

²⁶⁸ Frank and Edwin Snowsell, "Starting over on 'a Ready-Made' Farm, 1911-1916," *Western People*, no. 14 (1982).

articulated roof profile on both the houses and barns gave an additional level of detail and variety to the structures. Each house featured a central hearth, brick chimney, and covered verandah.

The colorful presentation of an array of house plans, in blueprints and photographs, shared its format with the mail-order house catalogues of contemporary companies including B.C. Mills Timber and Trading Co. of Vancouver, Eaton's, and Canadian Aladdin Company. The most active of these companies, the Canadian Aladdin Company, offered mail-order houses from 1905 to 1952. C.P.R. ready-made farmhouses were remarkably similar to some of Aladdin's arts-and-crafts styled houses [Figure 3-16]. The Aladdin Company's homes were precut at the factory and shipped to the customer's nearest railway station, accompanied by a set of blueprints and a construction manual. From 1910 to 1932, Eaton's free plan books featured dozens of houses in artist's sketches and floor plans, accompanied by information on lumber, doors, windows, flooring and hardware. Blueprints could be purchased for between \$1 and \$2.50, and customers could order lumber and supplies based on them. The most popular type of Eaton's house — a one-and-a-half story bungalow dubbed "the Earlsfield" — was listed for \$696.50, plus the cost of freight, in the 1912 catalogue.²⁶⁹ A ready-made C.P.R. farmhouse with similar dimensions retailed for \$950, plus 5% for construction supervision, in 1913. While C.P.R. houses were almost 40% more expensive, the premium secured the convenience of a fully assembled dwelling with similar aesthetic qualities.²⁷⁰ In the initial years of the program, the C.P.R. moved

²⁶⁹ Eaton's houses were not true "pre-fabs" in that the lumber was shipped un-cut. The house elements traveled by boxcar to the nearest railway station and were delivered by horse-and-wagon to the site.

²⁷⁰ Les Henry, "Mail-Order Houses," Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cpm/catalog/cat2104e.shtml#1222116. Accessed June 23.;

increasingly to a model of standardized houses, adopting a similar attitude to companies such as Aladdin and Eaton's in marketing designed homes as consumer objects. Moreover, the C.P.R.'s program radically expanded the mail-order home concept by offering not only houses, but entire pre-built farms, complete with outbuildings and prepared fields

From Ready-Made House to Ready-Made Farm

Promotional material presented the farms as having essential amenities in place to ensure the farmer's self-sufficiency: a well was dug on the farm sites, the land fenced, a "substantial" barn erected to accommodate horses and cows, and an outhouse provided. A certain area was also plowed and sowed with seed, readied for harvest in the first year. The reality often fell short of this ideal: when the first settlers moved to Nightingale in 1909, only one house had a well with good water; other families hauled their water until wells were drilled.²⁷¹ Each farm included a barn with room for only four horses in double stables, along with ten acres of sowed wheat and a quarter acre of potatoes. According to several early settlers, winter wheat was initially planted, but it died and the land was sown again with spring wheat — but too late to produce a crop.²⁷²

While Western Canada was renowned as a wheat-growing region, the ready-made farms were conceived as mixed grain and livestock farms. Colonists were encouraged to grow a combination of grain and fodder crops such as alfalfa, barley, wheat and oats, raise livestock, and maintain a

Mills, *Buying Wood & Building Farms: Marketing Lumber and Farm Building Designs on the Canadian Prairies, 1880 to 1920*.

²⁷¹ Ted Pool, from Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 95.

²⁷² Charles and Syd Griffith, from *Ibid.*, 80-82.

market garden. “The settler who follows mixed farming and who stocks his farm with milch [sic] cows, hogs, and poultry can make his farm revenue-producing very shortly after settlement,”²⁷³ one brochure on “Improved Farms” asserted, echoing the common wisdom that a diversified production including animals was more profitable than a straight grain crop. By contrast, pamphlets issued by the Dominion government often focused on wheat-growing opportunities in Western Canada, showcased in images of golden fields under a blue sky.

On a practical level, a combination of different farming strategies was necessary for the compact farms that consisted of both irrigable and non-irrigable portions. The C.P.R. asserted that both types of land could be profitably used: “here can be secured in the same quarter-section, side by side, land lying above the canal system for the production of winter wheat and the grazing of live stock, and irrigable land for other crops, such as alfalfa, barley, vegetables, etc. requiring abundant moisture,”²⁷⁴ a typical Company publication stated. Superintendent of irrigation Robert Stockton outlined a system of crop planting:

Having selected the smoothest and best graded land for the rowed crops and alfalfa, and planted timothy on the low lands and wet places, there is left the more rolling and less easily irrigated portions to be planted to grain [...] the rotation in general is in the order of alfalfa, root crops, and grain crops.²⁷⁵

²⁷³ “How to Own a Farm in Western Canada,” Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Colonization and Development, 1923. CP Archives.

²⁷⁴ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Facts Concerning the Bow River Valley*, 26-27.

²⁷⁵ Stockton, Robert. “Irrigation Farming.” *Strathmore Standard*, October 1912. Reprinted in Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 10.

In Stockton's ideal irrigated farm, fodder crops were ultimately given priority, intended for consumption by livestock on the farm whose waste could be returned to the soil. "This system eliminates so many of the risks from frost and hail and an uncertain market price for grain," he explained. Alfalfa was encouraged as a primary crop, since it returned nitrogen to the soil and was considered the highest quality feed for livestock. The C.P.R.'s demonstration farm at Strathmore introduced and encouraged the cultivation of alfalfa by developing regional varieties and offering prizes to farmers with the most impressive crops. Ideologically, the irrigation farm thus presented the potential for self-perpetuating fertility, within a compact territory with a full complement of plants and animals.

On an aesthetic level, the imagery of mixed farms evoked rural ideals through visual variety. Promotional images such as an early poster, issued around 1910, presented the diversity encouraged by picturesque ideals [Figure 1-13]. Rolling green hills grazed by cattle create a clear foreground, while sheep and hogs occupy the mid-ground, and a field of golden crops fills the background. The farmhouse itself is surrounded by a fenced garden, filled with colorful marks suggesting a cornucopia of vegetables and flowers. A half-bare tree to the right of the image gives a hint of the romantic decay favored by picturesque imagery, but any suggestions of actual decline are countered by the proliferation of animal and vegetal life that fill the rest of the image.

In the areas immediately adjacent to the house, the C.P.R.'s farms also reflected British ideals of civilized rural life by engaging with picturesque landscaping principles. Although the ready-made farms did not come with landscaping in place, trees were available to settlers free of

charge.²⁷⁶ British aesthetic ideals were manifest in the model farm plans published in the C.P.R.-issued *Settler's Guide* to homesteading in the irrigation district, as well as in contemporary newspaper articles [Figures 3-17, 3-18]. Rejecting formal, symmetrical layouts, these guides suggested that trees were to be deployed in sheltering lines on the periphery, then distributed in picturesque groupings within the farm enclosure.²⁷⁷ In the C.P.R.'s ideal farmstead, "clumps of various shrubbery have been scattered about the lawn, a neat little dairy house has been tucked in the shade and shelter of the trees and shrubs convenient to the well, and beautiful flower beds add to the effect."²⁷⁸ This suggested arrangement of tree belts and vegetal clumps alongside folly-like outbuildings on a neat lawn recalled the landscapes introduced by English landscape designer Capability Brown a century earlier, and popularized by followers such as Humphrey Repton and John Claudius Loudon in what they labeled the "picturesque." Only later in the manual was the practical importance of the trees as windbreaks discussed, along with recommendations for planting density and species choice. "It will be found a splendid plan to plant a double row of white or blue spruce in the wind break," the guide stated, noting the

²⁷⁶ Some of these were spruce and jackpine saplings, dug up from the Rocky Mountains by volunteers in trips coordinated by the Demonstration Farms. Ibid., 81. Others were fast-growing poplar saplings.

²⁷⁷ A.T. Erwin, "Planning the Home Grounds," *Strathmore Standard*, May 7 1910. Many promotional illustrations of the farms included established trees, even though the ready-made farms did not come with them — contrary to claims for the natural fertility of the soil, trees demanded settlers to look after them. Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Irrigation Farming in Sunny Alberta* (Chicago: M. Kallis & Company, 1921), 1-4. Also see P.L. Naismith to Hart, January 27, 1913. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-9.

²⁷⁸ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Settler's Guide: A Handbook of Information for Settlers in the Canadian Pacific Railway Irrigation Block* (Calgary: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1911), 14.

sheltering advantages of their dense needles, then adding another aesthetic note: “There is nothing prettier than a substantial wind break of such evergreens.”²⁷⁹

Central demonstration farms provided concrete examples of both mixed farming and landscaping principles to irrigation farmers. Carefully placed trees and bodies of water added to the picturesque effects of the main demonstration farm for the region, at Strathmore. “As the visitor enters the main gate, his eye is at once attracted by the large number of young trees, all in full bloom, which decorate the entrance, and the long line of evergreens planted along the side of the irrigation ditch which passes through the farm,” described the local paper. “That is a good tip for farmers in the district who wish to beautify their homes.” The article also described plans for creating a nearby body of water, which would effectively create a foreground for the farm as seen from the train. “There is also some talk of damming the hollow between the farm and the railroad track, and transforming it into a lake. This would present a very pretty appearance, and it would also provide a large water reservoir,” it stated.²⁸⁰ When laid out in the correct manner, water could be more than a simple reservoir, and trees serve not only as practical windbreaks. Both could add variation to the monotonous grasslands, contributing to the transformation of homesteads on flat Prairie land into visually rich, picturesque farms.

²⁷⁹ ———, *Irrigation Farming in Sunny Alberta* (Calgary: Department of Colonization and Development, 1929), 15. Note that this brochure shares a title with the publication quoted in previous notes, but was prepared in a later year and has different content.

²⁸⁰ “A Place of Interest,” *Strathmore Standard*, June 11, 1910.

Density, Irrigation, and Society

Beyond the design and sale of individual farms, a broader impetus for creating the ready-made colonies was the need to occupy the massive irrigation district, assuring future income from freight traffic and water fees.²⁸¹ In general, C.P.R. policy discouraged speculation on farmland and was instead geared towards establishing a stable base of bona fide settlers.²⁸² In the irrigation district, with its costly infrastructure and need for continual maintenance, it would have been especially important to have a reliable source of income from established farmers to defray infrastructure construction and maintenance costs.

From the Company's standpoint, ready-made farm colonies based on small land holdings would ensure the most profitable settlement of the territory. "I take the position that the whole irrigation project is designed to secure the highest possible amount of traffic. This involves the densest possible settlement," reasoned CPICC manager C.W. Peterson. "I like the improved farm program and think it would be the means to that end. In this way we can settle families on eighty acre tracts and make sure that this land is not being bought merely for speculative purposes."²⁸³ In its publicity material, the railway company rationalized the small farms by explaining that compared with the standard 160 acres allocated in Western Canada for dry farms, 80 acres would

²⁸¹ The C.P.R. divided its irrigation project into three sections — Eastern, Central, and Western — based on topographical differences between the areas. The Western District began providing water by 1909, while the Eastern section was operational by 1914. The Central District was never completed. See Mitchner, "The Bow River Scheme: The CPR's Irrigation Block."

²⁸² Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. Esp. chapter 1.

²⁸³ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 223.

suffice to sustain an irrigated farm, with its propensity for consistently yielding more crops than dry land farms.

This denser development may also have alleviated a fear of isolated homesteading on vast Prairie landscapes. In contrast to the carefully crafted image of picturesque farmsteads, Prairie landscapes were easily associated with the aesthetic of the sublime. In Burke's description, greatness of dimension and vastness of extent were powerful causes of the sublime, insofar as these created a sense of being overwhelmed and evoked the incomprehensibility of the infinite. Privations such as solitude were also associated with Burke's sublime: "death itself is scarcely an idea of more terror [than] absolute and entire solitude."²⁸⁴ This type of imagery recurred in descriptions of the pre-settlement Canadian Prairies. British major William F. Butler, commissioned to report on conditions in the Northwest Territories, held a romantic image of the region as a "great lone land." In his 1873 account *The Wild North Land* he described "sterile, treeless wilds whose 400,000 square miles lie spread in awful desolation." Riding for months through "the vast solitudes," he observed the land as "lonely, silent, and impassive; heedless of man, season, or time, the weight of the Infinite seems to brood over it."²⁸⁵

While the passions of pain and danger "are delightful when we have an idea of pain and danger, without being actually in such circumstances," Burke noted that "they are simply painful when

²⁸⁴ Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 56, 66, 90-1.

²⁸⁵ Quoted in Francis, *Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies*, 52-53.

their causes immediately affect us.”²⁸⁶ This was often the case on the open, stark Prairies. Rather than reveling in romantic appreciation of the vast landscape, settlers sought to mitigate the open spaces, which were perceived as barren and threatening. The terror of isolation held particularly true for British settlers from urban environments or those accustomed to tight rural development on rolling, treed parklands. As one settler observed, “this stark, treeless prairie was a far cry indeed from the green, tree-shaded valleys of Wales, with the sea almost at our door. The prairie seemed to have taken over the whole world, and seemed to go on and on into the shimmering distance — not a tree or a bush could be seen anywhere.”²⁸⁷ Another remembers the entry into Saskatchewan as “desolate, nothing but sand and gophers.”²⁸⁸ The C.P.R. downplayed the sublime terror of the Prairies, particularly in their descriptions of the irrigation district. A 1921 C.P.R. brochure on irrigation farming [Figure 3-19] thus depicts an irrigated farm landscape with two farmsteads within view of each other, while its text reassures its readers that:

The irrigation farmer has greater community advantages. [...] The settlement is confined to certain definite areas, instead of scattered over the country. Consequently, there are neighbors close at hand; schools, churches, telephones, mail deliveries, and all community organizations flourish as is not possible under other conditions.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 56, 66, 90-1.

²⁸⁷ Edward James, in Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 90.

²⁸⁸ Ted Pool, in *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁸⁹ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Irrigation Farming in Sunny Alberta*, 1-3.

Records of Nightingale demonstrate an effort to group houses near to one another — existent photos show dwellings next to one another [Figure 3-12].²⁹⁰ Settler Ted Pool recalls his family's house being directly opposite from a neighbor, separated by a road allowance. Writes Pool, "all the houses were built so, a seemingly friendly setup but often too close."²⁹¹ Plans of improved farms for colonies at Cairnhill (1910), Namaka (1911), and Irricana (1911) indicate similar attempts to group farm dwellings near to one other. In Cairnhill, at least ten farms are situated along a common main road, with houses, barns, and wells located close to the roadway and within sight of at least one neighbour [Figure 3-20]. Ready-made farms at Namaka and Irricana were likewise situated on common roads, and in several cases pushed to the corner of their eighty-acre lots to be closer to the houses of adjacent farms. A report on the potential for a ready-made farm colony at Namaka emphasized the import of an irrigation ditch arrangement that allowed for this common road. "This arrangement for road is very desirable," wrote Robert Stockton, W. J. Elliot, and F. W. Crandell to Charles W. Peterson, "as it provides one main entrance that reaches all portions of the Colony and thereby brings the settlers closer together, and also closer to Strathmore."²⁹²

British journalists sponsored by the C.P.R. guardedly acknowledged the effectiveness of this planning on community life. "Nightingale [...] was not nearly such a lonely place as I pictured it

²⁹⁰ This appears to be a one-off album, perhaps used for internal reference rather than distributed. Glenbow, LSDF, PD31 v.8 1912.

²⁹¹ Ted Pool, in Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 95-96.

²⁹² Robert S. Stockton et al. to Charles W. Peterson, June 12, 1911. Glenbow, W.L. Jacobson Project, M3761.

to be,” reported Eldred Walker, who toured the colony soon after its founding. “One’s nearest neighbour is generally half a mile distant, but that is not far on these open, rolling prairies.”²⁹³

Early settlers in the English Colony actively socialized, visiting each other at home, organizing sports teams, holding dances in the railway freight shed constructed in 1912, and erecting a purpose-built community hall in 1913. As Syd Griffith recalls, this socializing was more active than in Britain. “You don’t really know your neighbour in Britain at all.” In Nightingale, by contrast, “we used to visit each other a lot and I think we were all fairly happy until everybody got fairly hard up, with monies going out all the time.”²⁹⁴ The C.P.R. suggested that the colonists also share farm implements, and in Nightingale several of them formed a co-op with a common tractor, threshing machine, and bulk grocery purchasing, although the arrangement was short-lived.

On a practical level, building standardized houses and barns in close proximity led to economies associated with mass construction. For instance, delivery of materials could be streamlined and construction could be delegated to a single contractor; plowing and seeding multiple fields could also be conducted as a single operation. Settlers also arrived in larger groups that could be attended to collectively. At times, these practicalities seem to have taken precedence over the initial imperative to settle irrigation lands *per se*. This was apparent when a shortage of contiguous irrigated lands from 1910 to 1911 led to the construction of the Sedgewick colony on non-irrigated lands. Although these were larger 160 acre farms, at greater distances from one

²⁹³ To make this assessment, he visited in the summer — not the winter. Eldred G. F. Walker, *Canadian Trails: Hither and Thither in the Great Dominion* (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1912).

²⁹⁴ Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 83, 87.

another than irrigated farms, promotional literature continued to emphasize the sociability of the ready-made colonies. A series of 1912 advertisements in the *Manchester Guardian* noted “the farmer can start his farming at once with congenial neighbours of the same British stock as himself, instead of having to rough it alone under primitive conditions,” even while the C.P.R. ready-made farm campaign of the time promoted farms from 80 to as large as 320 acres.

A 1912 promotional poster encapsulates the image of sociable, civilized ready-made farm colonies [Figure 3-21]. A well-dressed farmer and his wife converse by the house, in mid-ground a young man sits on a horse, and in the foreground, a young woman holds a pail, perhaps to feed the chickens pecking by her feet. The corner of a fenced-in garden is seen in front. The broad expanse of a wheat field can be glimpsed behind the house, whose chimney is topped with a wisp of smoke, a stock compositional element for a scene in the picturesque tradition. The group constitutes a working family unit, the ideal settlers sought by C.P.R. campaigns. The text points to a broader network of social connections: the farm is close to the railway, schools, markets, and churches. At the same time, harking back to the idea of a “fertile wilderness,” the unexploited potential of the land is emphasized on the poster — these are not farms on established agricultural terrain, but rather “special farms on virgin soil” — the units that through hard work and social cooperation would comprise a new, ideal settlement. As such, the depiction reinforces the Dominion’s reputation as a new society in the making. Although only a single farm is portrayed in the poster, it is inhabited by a full family and balanced by a text indicating the farm’s place in a larger social structure. The poster thus suggests that a broader community of like-minded individuals supports the independent family life of a ready-made farm.

Ready-Made Farms and Variants, 1912-1914

An enthusiastic response at the beginning of the ready-made farm program indicated its appeal, and building quickly accelerated to meet the demand. After the initial twenty-four farms of 1909, the C.P.R. created an additional 78 farms in 1910, 177 in 1911, and 57 in 1912. However, with a rapidly growing stock of ready-made farms, maintaining sales became difficult: at the end of 1911, 193 ready-made farms were unsold (69.2% of the total then existing), and at the end of 1912, 146 of the farms (43.7%) were unsold. Even assuming that the farms created in one year were not sold until the next year, this meant that 16 old farms were unsold in 1911, and an astonishing 92 old farms were unsold at the end of 1912, almost a third of the total ready-made farms at that time.²⁹⁵

Several factors may have contributed to sluggish sales and the cancellation of contracts.²⁹⁶ Some of the early farms were unviable from the onset because of their size. As rancher Bud Cotton remarked, “eighty acres was too small a holding to make a success and try to raise a family.”²⁹⁷ As one of the original colonists, Syd Griffiths further explained, “on this 80 acre plot you only had about 30 acres of arable land and all the rest was slough; of course it wouldn’t grow anything,”²⁹⁸ he and his brothers traded up to a 160 acre plot at the earliest opportunity. Low

²⁹⁵ Data from Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Natural Resources, Development Branch Annual Report, 1923, p.5. Glenbow, LSDF, M2263 vol. 8.

²⁹⁶ Since these were years of record immigration to Canada and relative stability in England, broader economic forces do not appear to be a major consideration.

²⁹⁷ Quoted in Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 35.

²⁹⁸ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 80.

precipitation levels in 1910, a summer of “drought and prairie fires,”²⁹⁹ devastated the first crops, at a time when the irrigation canals were not yet completed. Even when it was operational, dry weather could overwhelm the capacities of the irrigation system. Irrigation canals were also regularly clogged by weeds and invaded by muskrats, which slowed the flow of water. Large tracts of land were spoiled by salinization, which occurred when minerals were drawn up through the soil following irrigation.³⁰⁰ Crop failures also occurred in 1911, due to an unseasonable July frost.³⁰¹ With successive failures, the cash reserves of many farmers dwindled and they became unable to make payments. “By 1911 or 1912 lots of the settlers had drifted away from there to B.C. and other parts of the country,” recalls Griffiths.³⁰²

Perhaps in an attempt to recapture the program’s early success, the C.P.R. ready-made farm policy took on increasingly broad-based tactics. By 1912, the program had shifted from establishing coherent ready-made farm colonies in blocks, to the improvement of more scattered properties. “Under its ‘improved farms’ policy, the Company selects certain areas within the Irrigation Block upon which an expenditure of some \$2500 is made in the way of buildings and other improvements and the land is then sold to the settler on ten yearly payments,” explained a C.P.R. memorandum addressed to its land surveyors.

You will, therefore, whenever you have established a unit of, at least, average quality,

²⁹⁹ Flora Fletcher, quoted in *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁰⁰ Evenden, "Precarious Foundations: Irrigation, Environment, and Social Change in the Canadian Pacific Railway's Eastern Section, 1900-1930," 76-77.

³⁰¹ Dougan, ed., *The English Colony: Nightingale and District*, 76, 84.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 84.

mark this on your map as being **specially set apart for development as a ready made farm** and proceed to lay out building site, breaking, etc. in accordance with special instructions.

The directive continued, "It is the Company's desire to develop as much as possible of the vacant lands as ready made farms and it is not desirable that too much descrimination [sic] should be exercised in selecting these farms. On the other hand, farm units that are distinctly below a certain standard should be discarded and may be disposed of by the Company in their unimproved state in the usual way,"³⁰³ that is, through the regular method of selling farm land at a fixed price per acre. At this time, the C.P.R. also began taking up custodianship of abandoned ready-made and regular farms, restoring and reselling them as "improved farms."

In the following year, 1913, the ready-made farm program expanded its mandate yet again, accepting clientele from a larger geographic base. This new effort appeared to target settlers with more extensive agricultural experience than the former British recruits, thus increasing their likelihood of success. Eligible applicants were accepted from Northern Europe, with fliers reaching out to potential Dutch settlers, a group who had earlier expressed an interest in ready-made farms.³⁰⁴ A group of sugar beet farmers was persuaded to migrate from Arkansas, apparently to take up ready-made farms prepared by the C.P.R. in the irrigation district.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-577 b, 169-170. Emphasis in original.

³⁰⁴ See Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Hoe een Landbauwer Gelukken kan in Canada [How an Agriculturalist can Succeed in Canada]* (n.d.). This Dutch-language brochure includes ready-made farmhouse plans. Chung Collection (CC), 0002-07.

³⁰⁵ "Arkansas Farmers Migrate," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 2 1913.

At the same time, the C.P.R. created a parallel program encouraging American farmers to independently occupy lands in the irrigation district. The 1912 loans-to-settlers policy advanced up to \$2,000 to settlers for the purpose of making basic preparations for irrigation farming. The developments covered by the loan closely parallel the ready-made-farm program, except in this case the farmers were to make the improvements themselves. These included “providing a house and barn, digging a well, and fencing the land.” The criteria for selection — “a practical farmer, a married man who has a thorough knowledge of farm work [...] and who has sufficient capital to make his first payment and provide for himself and family for the first year”³⁰⁶ — also mirrored the ready-made farm program’s call for stable yeoman farmers. The scheme directly reused ready-made farm designs, inviting settlers to select the type of house and barn they desired from Company-furnished blueprints, “which plans are the result of many years’ knowledge of conditions in this country and the requirements of the settlers.”³⁰⁷ While many of the program’s participants took up these designs, others modified the blueprints or constructed houses after their own designs.³⁰⁸

Unlike some mail-order houses of the era, the C.P.R.’s ready-made farms were never pre-fabricated on a remote site. Rather they were built on-site to pre-determined specifications. In

³⁰⁶ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Irrigation Farming in Sunny Alberta*, 37-38.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ See, for example, the Development Branch Annual Reports from 1920 and 1923, both of which document a mix of houses erected under the loan policy in those years. Some of these follow ready-made farm designs, and others feature divergent designs, possibly inspired by plan-books readily available in both the United States and Canada at the time. Glenbow, LSDF, M2263 vol. 8.

what was perhaps an effort to increase the program's efficiency, the C.P.R. briefly considered using true pre-fabricated buildings. In the spring of 1913, they inquired about "knock-down" houses provided by Prudential Builders in Vancouver, among others.³⁰⁹ However, soon after these initial inquiries, the decision was made to continue with contract-based construction of farm buildings "along the ordinary lines," perhaps because of the high costs of pre-fab buildings.³¹⁰

Suspension of the Ready-made Farm Program, 1914

Despite the close oversight of company officials, the ready-made farm program's high turnover rate ultimately made it unprofitable, reflecting the economic and agricultural challenges of farming in the semi-arid Prairies.³¹¹ The program was effectively discontinued in 1914. Although appropriations were apparently made for preparing 130 farms that year,³¹² a management directive in March instructed that no new ready-made farms were to be created. Farms already under construction would be finished through that year and the next. The onset of World War I gave reason for an official public suspension of the program. The Development Branch's Advisory Committee stated, "as the primary object of the Company's improved farm project was to provide ready-made homes for settlers coming out from Great Britain and Europe, it has been

³⁰⁹ Naismith to Hart, Jan. 15, 1913. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-9

³¹⁰ Naismith to Hart, Jan. 27, 1913. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-9

³¹¹ Naismith to Mead, Feb. 8 1921. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-138

³¹² "Attracting Farm Settlers," *New York Times*, Jan. 25 1914.; "Newspaper Specials," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 27 1914.

decided to discontinue the development of any additional farms until after the War.”³¹³

By December of 1915, 521 ready-made farms and 165 loan farms had been created, and an aggregate of over 225 cancellations had been recorded. At the end of the year, 175 of the ready-made and loan farms were unsold (26.8% of the total), becoming the responsibility of the C.P.R. to maintain and market. C.P.R. records show that, a year later, only a handful of the ready-made farms had not defaulted or fallen behind in their payments. While the C.P.R. had collected \$196,266 in principal and interest payments, they were owed \$366,333 in arrears.³¹⁴

Peter Naismith, general manager of the C.P.R.’s Department of Natural Resources, later summarized the course of the program from the Company’s perspective:

These farms we sold on a very small first payment, and ultimately found that the result of the purchaser not having sufficient equity in them, did not warrant him in sticking and overcoming the obstacles due to all new settlers in a new country, nearly so well as if he had a larger interest in the property. We found that instead of the farms being sold as we thought, they had to be sold in some cases a half a dozen times before we got a purchaser

³¹³ Advisory committee document, 1916. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-430. Although the original program was officially suspended, the development branch continued to restore and resell abandoned farms as ready-made farms until at least 1923. A related initiative during the war years created three ready-made farm colonies with a total of 100 farms for returned veterans. For colonies begun during and after the First World War the C.P.R. dropped its selection of houses and barns, and created more non-descript structures. In Ted Mills’ analysis, “this shift in design policy likely reflected the low success rate of the earlier colonies and a corresponding attempt to reduce costs and offer rudimentary farms to immigrants with extremely limited means as well as to government-sponsored war veterans.” See Mills, *Buying Wood & Building Farms: Marketing Lumber and Farm Building Designs on the Canadian Prairies, 1880 to 1920*, 59. See Appendix 1 for list of all ready-made farms, including colonies for returned veterans.

³¹⁴ “Standing of Ready Made Farm Contracts up to 31st December, 1916.” Glenbow, LSDF, M2269 File #381 and “Canadian Pacific Railway Department of Natural Resources Development Branch Annual Report 1923,” M2263 vol. 8.

who would stick, and the result was that there was considerable depreciation, and in a good many cases some 'writing off' before final sale was made.³¹⁵

From the other side, most farmers felt deceived by false promises of easy agricultural conditions, and many complained of C.P.R. mismanagement. Dr. C.S. Longman was appointed by the Alberta government in 1931 to study the experience of farmers in the C.P.R. irrigation districts, many of who had taken up ready-made farms. In a later interview, he reported hearing from the farmers:

The same story over and over. [...] It was a heart breaking thing in a way. [...] Usually the procedure was that as soon as we would get talking and they would see that I was sympathetic to what their problem was — out would come the literature that the C.P.R. had scattered about the old country and elsewhere to induce them to come in here. [...] It showed the irrigation water running down — the crops responding, and other literature [...] of farmers who had written up testimonials and that sort of thing.

These people were green grocer trademen [sic] and what have you, but very few farmers actually who came out to irrigation in this country. They came out here to the ready made farms; settled down on them and of course everything was new. [...] You see in the homes lovely furniture, know that they had seen better days and then you could tell how disappointed they were.³¹⁶

Longman concluded, however, that the C.P.R. was essentially sympathetic to the settlers' difficulties, adjusting contracts periodically to try and respond to problems such as crop failures. Nonetheless, by 1931, three waves of settlers had come and gone from the farms. After decades of financial loss, the C.P.R. negotiated to transfer the Eastern and Western irrigation districts to farm-owned cooperatives in 1935 and 1944, respectively.

³¹⁵ Naismith to Elwood, Feb. 8, 1921. Glenbow, LSDF, M2269-138.

³¹⁶ Interview with W.L. Jacobson conducted on April 14, 1959, Edmonton. Transcript in Glenbow Archives, W.L. Jacobson project, C.P.R. Western Section — General History, folder 32, 631.7 J14A.

The C.P.R.'s abandonment of the ready-made farm program and irrigation districts reflected their failure to live up to promised hopes. Nonetheless, the C.P.R. established the tenuous foundations for irrigation farming in Palliser's Triangle. Both the Eastern and Western Irrigation Districts persist today, albeit in different administrative and land-use configurations than originally envisaged by the C.P.R. On the Western Irrigation District's million acres of land, 64,196 acres were irrigated in 2009, out of some 96,045 acres of active cropland — a mere tenth of the region's total area. In the more agriculturally successful Eastern Irrigation District, some 287,688 acres are irrigated, with much of the remaining two-thirds of land dedicated to cattle-grazing.³¹⁷ In both cases, government subsidies support the maintenance and operation of irrigation infrastructure, while in the Western Irrigation District, significant income derives from oil and gas well leases.³¹⁸ Together with the Bow River Irrigation District, the Eastern and Western Irrigation Districts have been allocated 65% of the province's permits for withdrawing water from the Bow River, more than triple what is allocated to municipalities; these free-of-charge rights effectively represent a further subsidy for irrigation farming. One might enumerate various ways in which today's farms differ from what was originally envisaged by the C.P.R.: as

³¹⁷ The dominance of pasture over agricultural land is somewhat ironic, given that the earliest ready-made farms displaced cattle ranching — and were seen as a civilized advancement over ranching.

³¹⁸ The Western Irrigation District is part of the Alberta Crown and is listed as a tax-exempt Government of Alberta agency. The Eastern Irrigation District is farmer owned and operated. Both are currently involved in a Irrigation Rehabilitation Program in which the Province of Alberta contributes 75% of expenditures towards replacing and rehabilitating existing structures. In the case of the Western Irrigation District, in the past three years, government grants have exceeded income from irrigation users; in the Eastern Irrigation District, income from water leases is vastly overshadowed by revenue from oil and gas well leases. See "Western Irrigation District Annual Report," www.wid.net/library.html. Accessed June 29, 2010, "Eastern Irrigation District Annual Report," www.eid.ab.ca. Accessed June 29, 2010.

a totality they neither cover as much land as planned, nor are they economically self-sufficient based on agricultural production alone. Farm sizes are also much larger than the modest 80 acres allocated to early farmers, averaging 1,079 acres each — about 100 acres larger than the average Alberta farm, and twice the size of the average American farm.³¹⁹

Despite these differences in physical reality, the images and ideals that the Company projected on the region have to some degree persisted to this time. Well after the ultimate failure of the program, the C.P.R. continued to promote Western Canada and the irrigation district using much of the imagery they had developed for ready-made farms. Posters and brochures boosting immigration continued to include British-looking settlers on picturesque mixed farms; wheat was often depicted as the primary crop. In a poster typical of the genre, from 1923, a mother standing amid towering sheaves and holding her infant child salutes the country, while chickens peck at the ground and cows occupy the pastures beside a spacious barn; a house that looks similar to ready-made models can be seen in the background [Figure 3-22]. The imagery of the civilized family farm remained integral to the C.P.R.'s depiction of Western Canada.

The image of the picturesque farm, modeled on British aesthetic ideals, remains key within the national culture. To this day, a working farm established in 1884 occupies a central location in the capital city, Ottawa; it is paired with floral gardens and an arboretum. Images of Prairie farms and grain elevators have become symbols of a grassland region that spans three provinces —

³¹⁹ Alberta Environment AMEC Earth & Environmental, *Current and Future Water Use in Alberta* (Edmonton: 2005), 123. Also see FAO and Statistics Canada, *Census of Agriculture*, 2001 and 2006. Cited in Government of Canada, "Canada at a Glance 2009," www45.statcan.gc.ca/2009/cgco_2009_011-eng.htm. Accessed June 29, 2010.

nearly half the breadth of the country. These conceptions continue to dominate the imagery of this landscape, despite the economic and territorial importance of uses such as oil and gas extraction. To a large extent, farm imagery has become naturalized; agriculture appears as an intuitive use of the vast Prairies even as it transforms them into what is arguably the most human-altered landscape in Canada.³²⁰ At the foundation of this process is a perception of the Prairies as a “fertile wilderness,” destined for agriculture — a characterization that has extended even to areas such as the irrigation districts, where infrastructure and subsidies are required to maintain even a fraction of the land for farming.

In the Rockies, sublime mountain landscapes were seen as locked in battle with the railway and its constructions, the latter ultimately triumphing and thus asserting the presence of civilization within the mountains. Bastions of civilization — the hotels, the park, and the railway line itself — subsequently allowed visitors to safely and comfortably admire their majestic surroundings, which retained their identity as wilderness areas, albeit to be engaged with at arm’s length. The concept of a fertile wilderness in the Prairies juxtaposed civilization and wilderness in a parallel, but distinct manner. Here, a fertile wilderness was seen as passively inviting rather than actively resisting the entry of civilization. Irrigation and agricultural cultivation were presented as natural and intuitive responses to the land’s fertility. Promoters including the C.P.R. downplayed the potential dangers and visual threat presented by stretches of barren-looking grassland, instead presenting the vast untouched land as full of agricultural potential, and remaking it in the image

³²⁰ David A. Gauthier and J. David Henry, "Misunderstanding the Prairies," in *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History*, ed. Chad Gaffield and Pam Gaffield (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995).

of productive farms. Their ready-made farms pushed this vision to its logical conclusion: if the land was naturally productive and farming on it was intuitive, settlers would quickly repay the cost of their matching, pre-built, cozy farmsteads. The failure of the program belied the supposed ease of irrigation farming, but the vision of a vast, naturally productive landscape remained relatively unaffected. Today, cattle, farms and grain elevators are a more common sight on the Prairies — and are more resonant icons of this Canadian region — than the indigenous bison and tall grass plains they displaced. The potential presented by the “fertile wilderness” of the landscape has effectively been realized by the agricultural uses that dominate the iconography of the region commonly known as the Prairie Provinces.

While the ready-made farm network was directed towards an international audience of prospective settlers, rural idealizations of nature also drove a series of developments for an audience of tourists that continued to grow and diversify through the 1920s. In contrast to the resort hotels discussed earlier, a circuit of bungalow camps provided a rustic “back-to-nature” experience of the Canadian Rockies accessible to a broader audience of middle-income urbanites. The next chapter examines this network of locations, and how they advanced yet another distinct version of wilderness ideas set in Western Canada.

Chapter 4

A Recreational Wilderness: The Bungalow Camp Trail, 1919 - 1929

It's too early for breakfast, so you tuck some triscuits into your pocket and a bit of chocolate, and slip out of your brown and beige bungalow with the blue curtains. Over your shoulder you look at all the other little bungalows backed into the mountain with a green lake at their toes; you fill your lungs down to the last lazy quarter-inch with Rocky Mountain air; and if you don't fly then and there, it's because you know walking is going to be so much more fun.³²¹

The First World War marked an important turning point for Canadian tourism and patriotism. During the war, travel to Europe was curtailed, and tourism within both the United States and Canada received a sudden boost.³²² Meanwhile, the Canadian population's voluntary participation and sacrifice in the war galvanized Anglophone communities across the country and earned Canada a measure of political autonomy from Britain, while ultimately boosting the economy. In alignment with the self-promotional efforts linked to increased tourism and the increased sense of political and economic confidence, a shift in Canadian ideas about wilderness also occurred. While the pre-war period in Western Canada was dominated by a desire to civilize natural regions, the interwar years instead were characterized by attempts to re-frame already-domesticated Western landscapes as nationally valuable, intact wilderness areas. Foremost among these was a series of C.P.R.-built lodge and cabin compounds in the Rockies — an arrangement the railway company called “bungalow camps.”

³²¹ Betty Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canada: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923), 1-2.

³²² Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

Nine bungalow camps were created and promoted by the C.P.R. in the Rocky Mountains, between 1913 and 1929 [Figure 4-1].³²³ Each utilized the same basic arrangement: a group of rustic cabins situated near a communal lodge. Unlike resort hotels on the main line, which were readily accessible and usually faced a sweeping alpine vista, the bungalow camps were located in fairly remote, wooded regions. Moreover, they supported an emerging type of wilderness ideal: they proposed active engagement with nature, which was seen as a vast, recreational playground suitable for men and women of all ages. Although in practice the bungalow camps attracted a relatively elite audience, their construction laid the infrastructural groundwork for more widespread access to the mountain parks, as well as setting a model for touristic developments in the 1920s and 1930s that would cater to a broader audience.

This chapter will examine how this new wilderness ideal was expressed in the bungalow camps at multiple levels. It begins by looking at the origins of a back-to-nature movement in the United States and explores how similar ideas were adopted in Canada's national park system. It then examines the architecture of the camps, whose rustic exteriors recalled earlier settlers' cabins and

³²³ Three bungalow camps were also created in Northern Ontario during this period, but their history will not be directly addressed in this chapter. The complete list includes Moraine Lake Bungalow Camp, AB (1913-1923), Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp, Lake O'Hara, BC (1920-1926), Lake Windermere Bungalow Camp, BC (1920), Storm Mountain (also known as Castle Mountain) Bungalow Camp, BC (1922), Yoho Valley Bungalow Camp, BC (1922), Devil's Gap Lodge, Kenora, ON (1923), French River Bungalow Camp, French River, ON (1923), Nipigon River Camp, ON (1923), Sinclair (or Radium) Hot Springs Bungalow Camp, AB (1923), Wapta Bungalow Camp, BC (1921), Vermilion River Bungalow Camp, BC (1923). I have also included Emerald Lake Chalet (1901-1925), since in addition to guest rooms within the main building, it included bungalow-style cabins and was often grouped with other bungalow camps in C.P.R. promotional brochures.

hunting lodges which appealed to male-centered ideas of exploration and conquest, while their comfortable domesticated interiors were designed to appeal to women. Activities such as fishing and canoeing were promoted on lakes adjacent to the bungalow camps, while a network of horseback and hiking trails connected them through the larger territory. At a regional scale, the concurrently constructed Banff-Windermere road offered a scenic access route to several of the camps by motor-car, a form of transportation emerging as an active, adventurous means to explore remote landscapes.

A Recreational Wilderness

The observation cars and resort hotels examined earlier encouraged a carefully determined engagement with nature: they catered to tourists seeking health benefits from taking “the cure” in hot springs or by simple exposure to mountain air, and directed the gazes of guests towards mountain scenery. Often this was a highly mediated experience — nature was to be seen through the windows of a train car or from the verandah or pool of a hotel. In contrast, the North American wilderness movement that flourished at the end of the nineteenth century emphasized a more active and direct engagement with the landscape. Roderick Nash’s study of a “wilderness cult” in the United States tracked men who, in the footsteps of President Theodore Roosevelt, advocated a “life of strenuous endeavor.” Through hunting and camping trips, they re-enacted the nationally formative frontier experiences of confronting the elements and battling nature’s denizens.³²⁴ These trips to the woods, they believed, combated the feminizing effects of parlor life and over-civilized cities and helped to preserve American qualities of “manly” virility,

³²⁴ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*, xxii.

toughness, and endurance. As Patricia Jasen explains, the emphasis was on creating a balance: “cultivating enough exposure to wild nature, or the illusion of wild nature, to offset the debilitating effects of civilized life.”³²⁵

Recreational wilderness pursuits were initially elite and male-dominated endeavors. This was epitomized in President Theodore Roosevelt’s Boone and Crockett Club, a hunting group composed of prominent statesmen and business leaders. The club had many imitators, and American big-game hunters poured into both the American and Canadian backwoods to pursue their sport.³²⁶ The C.P.R. welcomed these well-heeled visitors. From 1889 to 1917, they produced the *Fishing and Shooting* guide, and from 1898 to 1912 issued a *Sportsman’s Map of Canada* [Figure 4-2]. In their various editions, these publications enticed city sportsmen to remote reaches of Canada accessible by C.P.R. railway lines. The Canadian woods were presented as “the last northern game refuge” of North America. As one of the *Fishing and Shooting* guides argued, “of all the North American continent, once a veritable ‘Sportman’s Paradise,’ [Canada’s] picturesque wilds and noble waters have alone been spared the attacks of the game butchers and fish destroyers who worked such havoc in the United States.”³²⁷

Reinforcing the message, the *Sportsman’s* maps indicated an abundance of diverse game in Canadian regions, and an almost total absence in the neighboring nation [Figure 4-3]. Outside of the C.P.R.’s publicity, the same notion underpinned taxidermy displays of wildlife in museums,

³²⁵ Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, 105.

³²⁶ For a study of this form of tourism in Ontario, see *Ibid.*, chapters 5 and 6.

³²⁷ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Fishing and Shooting* (1891), 3.

hotels, and fairs, orchestrated by Western boosters. In reality, American and British hunters who entered Canadian territory in the late nineteenth century were often disappointed, finding in particular the regions near the oldest C.P.R. lines in Southern British Columbia and Manitoba already hunted out. Nonetheless, images of unrivaled hunting and fishing opportunities persisted. For both the C.P.R. and other promoters, the prospect of abundance attracted not only visitors, but ultimately also settlers and investors to the region.³²⁸ The vast size of Western Canada seemed to offer inexhaustible landscape resources, such that even after newcomers were accommodated, a plentiful store of untapped game, land, and other resources would still remain.

On the heels of the sportsman's movement, a broader public enthusiasm for wild nature took hold in both America and Canada. At the turn of the twentieth century, upper-class, and, increasingly, middle-class urbanites embraced returning to nature as a means to cope with the pressures of city life. In their valuation of rural areas, these nature enthusiasts shared a positive view of the countryside with agriculturalists, such as the aspiring settlers who had purchased C.P.R. ready-made farms. But as historian Peter Schmitt explains, the "back to the land" philosophy that motivated the latter group was distinct from the "back to nature" movement. "Simply put, this urban response valued nature's spiritual impact above its economic importance," writes Schmitt. In the opinion of back-to-nature supporters, "the man of the street, not the man of the land, might better benefit from 'natural' resources."³²⁹ Groups as varied as

³²⁸ George Colpitts, "Wildlife Promotions, Western Canadian Boosterism, and the Conservation Movement, 1890-1914," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 1-2 (1998).

³²⁹ Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), xix. For a detailed analysis of the relationship between urban society

teachers, preachers, scouting organizations, and journalists promoted country values in this spirit.

In addition to participating in hunting clubs, businessmen joined country clubs — by 1902, there were more than a thousand golf clubs in the United States, and a growing number in Canada.³³⁰

By the turn of the century, country life magazines that had nothing to do with farming flourished throughout North America, including *Collier's Outdoor American*, *Country Life in America*, and *Garden and Forest* in the United States. Canadians subscribed to such newly established journals as *Canadian Athletic* (Toronto, 1892), *Pastoral* (Toronto, 1901), *Rod and Gun* (Montreal, 1899), *Athletic Life* (Toronto, 1895), *Outdoor Canada* (Toronto, 1905), *Canadian Outdoor Life* (Toronto, 1907), *Western Canadian Sportsman* (Winnipeg, 1904) and *Canadian Alpine Journal* (Banff, 1907). Meanwhile, authors such as John Burroughs and Liberty Bailey in the United States and Ernest Thompson Seton, Charles G.D. Roberts, and W.A. Fraser in Canada began writing stories that, in contrast to earlier depictions of nature as hostile (if at times admirable for its sublime qualities), presented wild nature as a benevolent force and source of healing.³³¹

Summer camps were first introduced to North America in the 1880s, and had become a flourishing part of the back-to-nature movement by the 1910s, encouraging girls as well as boys to participate in such activities as camping and woodcrafts.³³² The urban interest in nature led to

and countryside, see M. F. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994).

³³⁰ Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*, 12. For the Canadian case, see the current PhD project by Elizabeth Jewitt, University of Toronto, "Behind the Greens: Understanding Landscapes of Golf in Canada, 1873-1929."

³³¹ George Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 3 (1976): 23-24.

³³² Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*.

the accelerated development of national parks systems in both the United States and Canada. In the United States, a 1901 proposal to use Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite Park as a water reservoir sparked a heated debate, prompting wider interest in the preservation of scenic wilderness areas.³³³ In Canada, Algonquin was established as the first provincial Park in the country in 1893, soon after the designation of the parks in the Rocky Mountains. Canada established the Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior as a distinct agency to administer the National Parks in 1911; the United States followed suit in 1916 with the creation of its National Parks Service.

The vision of Canada's forests as unspoiled natural reserves held particular import for tourism as upper-class vacation preferences for seaside resorts, mountains, and hotsprings were complemented by a new vogue for woodland retreats, influenced by both the popularity of sport hunting and the broader back-to-nature movement.³³⁴ While C.P.R. resorts such as the Banff Springs Hotel and Glacier House were associated with curative mountain hotsprings, panoramic vistas, and alpine peaks, the lakeside locations of the bungalow camps surrounded by woods offered recreational opportunities that allowed visitors to engage directly with the natural surroundings. Fishing, hiking, and horseback riding stood in for more physically demanding camping and sport hunting, while retaining the backwoods setting of these activities. Just as the Canadian forests were presented as superlative hunting grounds, they could offer ideal places for tamer forms of woodland recreation.

³³³ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

³³⁴ Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," 27.

Canada's Western Playgrounds

Grounded in the sentiment that the Canadian woods were superior to American forests, the push for recreational opportunities in the Canadian Rockies took on a patriotic bent. This emerges in the annual reports written by James Bernard Harkin, the first Canadian Parks Commissioner, who served from 1911 to 1936. Harkin's term of office marks the beginning of a pioneering Canadian institution: the Parks Branch, newly established within the Department of the Interior to administer the Dominion (later National) Parks, and the first independent parks administration of this type in the world.

In 1913, one of Harkin's first reports echoed the original arguments for the formation of Rocky Mountains Park, noting that as a visual symbol, the parks offered a locale for national pride to take root. Harkin suggested that the American patriotic sentiment towards national parks might prove a worthwhile model for Canada. In his report, he quoted J. Horace McFarland, president of the American Civic Federation:

Listen to the most sordid materialist who is American in birth or residence, as he boasts: it is always of the beauty of his town, his state, his country. Our devotion to the flag begins in that love of country which its beauty has begotten [...] so I hold that in stimulating and safeguarding the essential virtue of patriotism, the beauty of the American park stands forth as most of all worth while.³³⁵

Harkin argued that Canadian parks stood on at least equal ground, having "the impressive scenery and the other natural attractions to justify and compel pride of country."³³⁶ The next year, he ventured that in counterpoint to the United States' "See America First" movement, Canadian

³³⁵ Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1913), 12.

³³⁶ Ibid.

parks should adopt the slogan: “See America’s Best.”³³⁷ However, in their reliance on mimicry, these arguments for the nationalistic value of Canadian parks remained effectively deferential to the American example.

Initially, this indebtedness to foreign ideals extended to Harkin’s characterization of the primary purpose of the parks as “national recreation grounds.”³³⁸ Recalling the American sportsman’s movement, he emphasized immersion into a raw nature that would counter the effects of civilization. Harkin quoted United States naturalist John Muir to articulate the “chief purpose of parks”: “The tendency nowadays to wander in wilderness is delightful to see. Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home,” wrote Muir. “Awakening from the stupefying effects of the vice of over-industry and the deadly apathy of luxury, they are trying as best they can to mix and enrich their own little outgoings with those of nature, and to get rid of rust and disease.”³³⁹

Simultaneously, hints of a more autonomously Canadian proposition for the parks began to emerge. Harkin suggested that Canadian parks might provide protection against the national health problems suffered by both Britain and the United States. England’s overcrowded slums produced “a well recognized type — weak, hopeless, without initiative, energy, or self respect [...] a type that is a menace to the race” while people from the United States, he noted, quoting

³³⁷ Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks*, 8.

³³⁸ ———, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (1913), 4-5.

³³⁹ ———, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (1913), 8. Quoted from John Muir, *Our National Parks* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 7.

an American writer, “in country-side and city [...] have cherished the ideals of work, not of play; we have apologized for leisure instead of making it divine [...] we have, all unconsciously, forgotten how to live.”³⁴⁰ Harkin thus began to distance his vision from Roosevelt’s ideal “life of strenuous endeavor,” instead promoting the Canadian parks as recreational “playgrounds” that would support a vivifying “play spirit.” Fresh air, sunshine, and exercise were necessary to the well-being of the Canadian public, and a valuable counterpoint to the drudgery of work life. Physical, mental, and moral benefits were expected to accrue from the “wholesome play” facilities and opportunities presented by the parks. In Harkin’s vision, the parks would be widely available to Canadians as a comprehensive public service.

This was not far removed from the role ascribed to the American National Parks, which were also promoted as places of leisure for the general public.³⁴¹ In Canada these projected benefits took on an added urgency, at least for a brief period, in light of the war effort and in anticipation of post-war conditions, both of which required the attentions of an industrious, healthy population. National parks would aid in the development of a suitably robust populace. In 1915, Harkin insisted that National Parks constituted a “right of citizenship” which would provide “all

³⁴⁰ Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (1914), 9-10.

³⁴¹ See, for instance, Olmsted’s description of Yosemite that helped create the initial 1864 preserve as an area supposedly free of commercial interests. Drawing on language from the Declaration of Independence, he pointed out that it was a duty of government “to provide means of protection for all of its citizens in the pursuit of happiness against the obstacles, otherwise insurmountable, which the selfishness of individuals or combinations of individuals is liable to interpose to that pursuit.” See Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994), 244, Frederick Law Olmsted, “The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees: A Preliminary Report (1865),” *Landscape Architecture* 43, no. 1 (1952).

the people of Canada facilities for acquiring that virile and efficient manhood so noticeable in Canadian military training camps.”³⁴² On an ideological level, the parks were thus mobilized as part of the war effort, taking on a nationalist mission for ensuring the physical health of present and future Canadians. The contrast to the United States — which would not enter the war until 1917 — was implicit.

At the same time that the *raison d'être* of the parks was cast as providing a public service to Canadians, the parks continued with their earlier commercial mission, an important component of which was attracting foreign tourism. Harkin did not see these two aims as incompatible — on the contrary, he reasoned, income from international tourism would pay for infrastructure to support increased domestic use of the parks. The fact that that Americans were being lured from their own railways and parks to frequent the Rockies was thus a measure of success. Harkin's 1916 report proudly quoted Americans lobbying for an administrative counterpart to the Canadian Park Branch. These included P.S. Eustis, General Passenger Agent of the Burlington Railroad, who noted that American tourists often opted for Canadian railways: “A great many of them take in the Canadian park region, for one reason or another. They seem to have better park arrangements in Canada than we have in the United States. We are rather scattered.”³⁴³ Both Richard Watrous, Secretary of the American Civic Association, and Stephen Mather, then assistant to the Secretary of the Interior and later head of the United States National Parks Bureau, were cited in testifying that visitors to major exhibitions at San Francisco and San Diego

³⁴² Canada, Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 9.

³⁴³ Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks*, 9.

had passed through Canada instead of returning through American routes and parks. “75 per cent of them returned by the Canadian Pacific, thanks to the very efficient advertising which Canada had done,” noted Mather.³⁴⁴ In effect, this referred to C.P.R. publicity: the railway provided the only access to the parks and their interests remained entangled with those of the federal park authorities.

By 1916, Canada boasted some 4.4 million acres of national park, almost all concentrated in its Western reaches [Figure 1-9]. The U.S. mainland had 5.6 million acres, also principally in the West, although spread across a larger overall area [Figure 4-42]. A mix of ideals as well as audiences were at play in the promotion of Canadian Parks during the first years of the Parks Branch’s existence.

The C.P.R.’s bungalow camps built on Harkin’s vision of the national parks by promoting active recreation within the Rockies. Simultaneously, as commercial undertakings they targeted high-end tourists, many of whom were Americans.³⁴⁵ The camps were accessible not only to hunters,

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Even though many more Canadians than Americans frequented Rocky Mountains Park throughout the 1910s, Americans dominated the attendance of C.P.R.-owned establishments. The Banff Springs Hotel and Lake Louise, the most expensive hotels in their respective districts, recorded an average of 61 percent Americans attending over the decade. This trend apparently extended to the C.P.R.’s first rustic chalets, precursors to the bungalow camps, developed in the 1910s. Emerald Lake Chalet, for instance, attracted a 65 to 75 percent American audience in the years for which statistics are available. This likely reflected both the higher cost of accommodation at these hotels, as well as the effectiveness of C.P.R. advertising to markets in the United States, in which smaller hotels could not compete. The relatively high cost of staying in the later bungalow camps — \$5.50 per day — reflected an attempt to build on this success and continue targeting prosperous American tourists.

but also to women and young adults — the traditional audience for resort hotels, offering an alternative type of vacationing for these groups. The new network of accommodations promised these groups appropriate forms of recreation, which had the character of “play” rather than of “strenuous endeavor.” In doing all this, they promised to immerse visitors within a supposedly untrammelled landscape of forests and lakes.

Bungalow Camp Boom, 1919-1925

The C.P.R.’s first move towards the bungalow camp form was the construction of an eleven-bedroom log-built backwoods chalet, on a newly acquired property at Emerald Lake in 1902 [Figure 4-4]. Compared to the C.P.R.’s similarly scaled Glacier House, Fraser Canyon House, and Mount Stephen House, the Emerald Lake chalet had a studied rustic appearance, including a hewn squared timber construction and details such as heavy timber columns and stepped corbels that recalled Swiss carved roof brackets. This rusticity was echoed in its landscape treatment. While Glacier House’s courtyard contained parterres and a large fountain, Emerald Lake’s chalet was set on a plain unpaved courtyard ringed with coniferous trees. In distinction from the direct train or stagecoach access provided for the other hotels, guests reached the Chalet by hiking or riding by horseback a substantial seven miles from Field station.³⁴⁶ In response to Emerald Lake’s apparent popularity, the railway added cabins along the lakefront and surrounding forest

³⁴⁶ The C.P.R. had provided simple log-built shelters for trekkers as early as 1891. In that year, the Company constructed a bare-bones log chalet on the shore of Lake Louise for those adventurous enough to trek the three miles uphill from Laggan station. However, after the original chalet burned down early in 1893, a frame structure more in line with the C.P.R.’s other hotels was erected. As Lake Louise grew in popularity, it was expanded with other additions in European architectural styles. While at this early period, log cabins would serve for preliminary or strictly utilitarian buildings, the railway’s showpiece hotels in the late nineteenth century relied on more cosmopolitan French, Scottish and Italianate styles.

between 1906 and 1912. In the 1912 season, 1,192 guests stayed at the chalet and cabins, and in 1913, the number had nearly doubled to 2,260 guests.³⁴⁷ While originally designed as a hotel, the addition of log cabins — a distinguishing feature of the future bungalow camps — gave the location a new appeal.

The format developed at Emerald Lake was subsequently used to build a series of camps that supported guided overnight hiking and horseback excursions, which had been staged for C.P.R. guests since before the First World War.³⁴⁸ In 1919, the C.P.R.'s superintendent of construction for the Western hotels, Basil Gardom, arranged to have a small log lodge and canvas-roofed sleeping cabins built at Lake O'Hara, a location where C.P.R. excursionists had previously camped out in tents. In 1921, the canvas-roofed structures were again replaced, this time by five log sleeping cabins. The result was the C.P.R.'s first development named and promoted as what they called a "bungalow camp" [Figure 4-5].³⁴⁹

During the following years, the C.P.R. built a succession of bungalow camps in adjacent Banff, Yoho, and Kootenay National Parks. In keeping with the trekking required to reach early bungalow camps, all of the new developments were served by a series of back-country trails the C.P.R. had been instrumental in creating. As the network grew, each camp was promoted as a

³⁴⁷ In 1912, Americans were the primary audience — sixty-six percent of visitors were from the United States, twenty-five percent from Canada, six percent from England, and three percent other. Barnes, *Great Lodges of the Canadian Rockies*, 79.

³⁴⁸ Mills, "The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks," 63.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.: 64.

distinct destination with a unique identity and specific recreational opportunities. Each was named after the lake on which it was situated or another natural feature in its vicinity; several of these names had Indian origins.³⁵⁰ Wapta Camp, the first reached by train from the east, was dramatically sited on the edge of the continental divide, on a trout-fishing lake and near many trailheads [Figure 4-6]. The name “Wapta,” also used for a lake, falls, and a glacier in the area, derives from the Stoney Indian word for “river.” Lake O’Hara Camp was the most remote of the group: with no road or train access, it was celebrated as giving “isolation with comfortable accommodation.”³⁵¹ Yoho Camp was near a spectacular waterfall, and situated within hiking distance from the eponymous glacier, named from a Cree word expressing awe and amazement [Figure 4-7]. Circling west, Emerald Lake was the “camp de luxe”³⁵² with private baths in some cabins, an in-house orchestra for the communal lodge, and outdoor tennis courts. Moraine Lake Camp, just south of Lake Louise, was high in the mountains and situated at a junction of alpine trails [Figure 4-8]. The Banff-Windermere Highway led through the Kootenay ranges towards the Columbia River valley, past four more bungalow camps. The first, Castle Mountain (or Storm Mountain) Bungalow Camp, was situated on a rise facing a majestic mountain vista [Figure 4-9]. Vermilion River Camp, in a valley site just off the road, stood “at the middlemost middle of the big game country” with easy access to hunting grounds.³⁵³ Radium (or Sinclair)

³⁵⁰ During the same period, children’s summer camps across North America often took on real or Indian-sounding names. Associations between Indians and wilderness ideas are extensively treated in chapter 5.

³⁵¹ See Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Detail Information for Ticket Agents regarding Travel in the Rockies* (n.d.), 20. CP archives.

³⁵² Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 17.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

Hot Springs Camp was situated near a narrow canyon with curative mineral springs [Figure 4-10]. At the end of the road, rejoining the railway line, Lake Windermere Camp, named after the most famous lake of England's picturesque heartland, the Lakes District, overlooked a broad lake where swimming and motor-boating were encouraged — a “peaceful” spot to relax “after all the emotional climaxes of the mountains” [Figure 4-11].³⁵⁴ By 1925, all nine bungalow camps in the Rockies were in operation or under construction.

The Masculine Realm: Rustic Camp Exteriors

In marked contrast to the civilized, park-like surroundings cultivated in earlier C.P.R. resorts, bungalow camp buildings were deliberately arranged to emphasize integration with natural surroundings. Lakeside locations and views were sought out whenever possible. At Emerald Lake, visitors entered the site over a bridge, underscoring the theme of water [Figure 4-12]. The bridge entrance created an illusion that the camp was on an island surrounded by water: in reality, it resided on a peninsula attached to the mainland by road, facilitating service and deliveries. Bungalows at Emerald Lake were laid out at varied angles, and reached by a twisting road and curved walking paths, creating the air of an informal campsite. The cabins were splayed out from the central chalet, such that most of the front porches had water views, and did not face other porches. This can be compared to the site strategies of American summer youth camps built in the 1920s, which in many cases housed campers in informally clustered cabins and had main buildings oriented towards the lake.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 22-23.

³⁵⁵ In the 1920s, summer camp designs changed from an earlier preference for military-style, geometric layouts to more asymmetrical uses of site, suggesting a harmony with nature. In the

While the original cabins at Lake O'Hara were situated on an alpine meadow, in the winter of 1926-27, a new lodge was erected and the cabins were moved to shoreline sites just below the lodge [Figure 4-13]. Stone foundations were added to support the relocated structures. At Wapta Lake Camp, judging from archival photographs, the lodge also sat on a rise above its cabins, which were arrayed in a concentric pair of lakefront arcs below. The main approach to the camp and lodge was from the water: before the completion of road access, visitors arrived by motorboat from Hector Station, a few minutes' journey away. Emphasizing this close relationship with the water, promotional photographs often showed the lodge and cabins as seen from the boat dock. A stick-built archway announced the camp's name and added a hand-crafted element [Figure 4-6].

Meanwhile, the exterior of the bungalow camp buildings presented a studied rustic appearance that had a rich set of associations related to the image of the primitive hut. Joseph Rykwert has noted the persistence of primitive hut motifs throughout architectural history. As he writes, "whether in ritual, myth or architectural speculation, the primitive hut has appeared as a paradigm of building: as a standard by which other buildings must in some way be judged, since it is from such flimsy beginnings that they spring."³⁵⁶ In actual building, simple cabins and huts

latter case, the cabins were often placed in small clusters, with cabins within each cluster facing each other to encourage a sense of community between campers. See Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*, 18-20.

³⁵⁶ Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981 [1971]), 190.

have appeared as the basis for architecture claiming a close relationship to both universal and national origin myths up into the twentieth century.

While the earliest known architectural theorist, Vitruvius, speculated on the construction of the first simple shelters, the discourse of the primitive hut became an important trope in the eighteenth century, in step with a growing interest in first causes and the pursuit of questions of origins across academic disciplines. Central to this discussion in architecture was Abbé Laugier's 1753 description of the primitive hut in *Essai sur l'architecture*, and the engraving by Charles Eisen that formed the frontispiece to the second edition of 1755 [Figure 4-14]. In Laugier's polemic, the quasi-natural hut was created by a solitary primitive man as a logical response to his physical need for shelter and light. Laugier suggested that his hut, which resembled a stripped-down Greek temple, offered a rational model for successive architecture: the vertical trunks acted like columns, horizontal members suggested entablatures, and inclined roof beams formed the first pediments. Laugier's theory appealed since it evoked an architecture that was purely responsive to structural principles, and devoid of mythical or religious overtones. As a result, explains architectural historian Anthony Vidler, construction principles grounded in the logic of the hut inspired Laugier's neoclassical followers and "a reduced lexicon of structural elements, their combination and recombination according to geometrical permutations 'to infinity,' and the natural 'variety' of the result, would become the methodological and aesthetic premises of late-eighteenth-century design."³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ Marc-Antoine Laugier, *An Essay on Architecture* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977 [1753]), Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), 18-19.

Successive authors within and outside of the architectural profession produced different versions of the primitive hut. While these huts varied widely in appearance depending on their cultural context, the established trope has been the claim that each hut presented an authoritative, essential expression. Champions in the late eighteenth century included Scottish geologist James Hall, who invoked a primitive hut of very different appearance from Laugier's: he suggested that the natural result of simply joined willow rods was a series of vaulted arches, the precursor of the Gothic style [Figure 4-15].³⁵⁸ Primitive huts were also invoked in speculative discourse as to the nature of man: Rousseau described the appearance of rustic cabins as allowing men to live in a free, healthy, and happy manner, but also charged that the huts introduced the possibility of property and wealth accumulation.³⁵⁹

Architectural theoreticians Quatremère de Quincy and Gottfried Semper developed important counterparts to Laugier's primitive hut. In his entry on *caractère* for the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Quatremère argued that the characters of different kinds of natural environment and social structures were imprinted on architecture. He postulated three primitive types of society, each of which originated an essentially different kind of primitive hut. Hunters and fishers sought shelter in caves, characterized by heaviness; nomadic herders preferred light tents; and farmers created wooden huts for their permanent settlements. These three basic types, in turn,

³⁵⁸ James Hall, *Essay on the Origin and Principles of Gothic Architecture. From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Read April 6, 1797* (Edinburgh: 1797), Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, 83-84.

³⁵⁹ Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, 16.

were subject to stylistic development and geographical modification.³⁶⁰ Gottfried Semper shared Quatremère's emphasis on the historical specificity of architecture, but rejected the idea of a threefold genesis. Refusing to frame the question of origins as a search for the original abode of man, he sought another notion of origin based on the universal human desire to create order through ritual. He identified four areas in which ritual was translated into tangible form: the joining of parts into a whole in weavings, which became the first space dividers, the development of the hearth which led to ceramics, the invention of stereotomy that resulted in the mound, and the engagement of carpentry that allowed for the manufacture of the roof. A moment of inspiration occurred when Quatremère encountered a Caribbean hut at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, a structure that for him exemplified how these four elements might come together [Figure 4-16]. It was these primary motifs, or elements of architecture, rather than the hut itself, that for Semper constituted the origin of architecture.³⁶¹

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century North America, real examples of seemingly primitive constructions — in the form of Amerindian dwellings and pioneer huts — were part of relatively recent history, and were still in use in many locations. Log cabins took on special value, and were seen as what in Quatremère's terms might be described as a culturally-specific

³⁶⁰ Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, "Caractère," in *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Paris: 1788). A few passages from this article were translated in ———, "Character," *9H* (1985). Also see Vittoria Di Palma, "Architecture, Environment and Emotion: Quatremère de Quincy and the Concept of Character," *AA Files*, no. 47 (September 2002).

³⁶¹ Gottfried Semper and Francis Mallgrave ed., *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Also see Mari Hvattum, *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29-72 and Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1996.

emergence of the wooden hut, tied to the North American environment of forests and the social context of their settlement. The American log cabin, first introduced to the New World by Northern European immigrants who settled the Delaware Valley in the seventeenth century, became identified with the image of the frontiersman. In the stereotypical image, the frontiersman lived in a self-built log dwelling, kept livestock in a log stable, sent his children to a log schoolhouse, and worshiped in a log church. As they cleared their land, log cabin dwellers seemingly realized President Thomas Jefferson's vision for an agrarian nation of independent yeomen farmers. Through its associations with a utopian view of settlement, the log cabin became a symbol for democratic virtues of honesty, wholesomeness, and humility.³⁶² This patriotic casting of the log cabin extended to the political realm: General William Henry Harrison was elected President largely thanks to a myth that he was raised in a log cabin, while his opponent was supposedly an effete Eastern aristocrat. In fact, this story was fabricated by Whig supporters including influential newspaper editor Horace Greeley, who published a weekly newspaper called *The Log Cabin* in New York City and Albany during the campaign [Figure 4-17]. The political power of this symbol led to a succession of presidents who falsely claimed to be born in log cabins, including Abraham Lincoln and Lyndon Johnson.³⁶³ Following the model of earlier primitive huts, the log cabin was popularly seen by the late nineteenth century as a site

³⁶² C. A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America: From Pioneer Days to the Present* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969).

³⁶³ Edward Pessen, *The Log Cabin Myth: The Social Backgrounds of the Presidents* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

of origin — not only a physical site for the birth of presidential candidates, but more broadly, a cradle for the emergence of the democratic American values established on the frontier.³⁶⁴

The lone cabin in the woods not only symbolized the frontier, but was also associated more broadly with ideas of wilderness. Curiously, the concept of wilderness was not diminished by this particular form of human habitation, but rather was inflected by it. By definition, primitive huts were simple constructions, assembled from natural, local materials. As such, they were seen as quasi-natural structures, closely related to the environment in which they were situated. This is most vivid in Eisen's engraving for Laugier's book, where the trunks that form the four corners of the primitive hut are living trees, still rooted in the ground and filled with foliage. Human industry was, of course, necessary to complete the construction. In some cases, the hut was seen as the crudely made shelters of savage, primitive men. In the case of the American log cabin, it was the self-built home of an independent, hardy frontiersman. The image of a primitive log cabin in the woods thus did not reduce the wilderness qualities of the setting, but rather modified them by suggesting a first meeting between a self-sufficient frontiersman and the North American wilderness. Much in line with the precepts of a recreational wilderness, the log cabin was the embodiment of a pioneering attitude of direct engagement between man and raw nature.

Seeking to tap into the rich vein of associations generated by the log cabin, wealthy urbanites created their own versions. Mock primitive cabins, built from local logs and stone, were common

³⁶⁴ For a discussion of American log cabin symbolism in the Boone and Crockett Club cabin at the World's Columbian Exhibition, see Macy and Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape*, 42.

among privately-owned summer homes in the Adirondack region, located within a day's journey of New York City.³⁶⁵ The Adirondacks were a popular mid-nineteenth century destination for sportsmen. While early visitors camped on temporary sites, by 1859 resorts such as the compound owned and operated by Paul Smith on Lower St. Regis Lake leased or sold individual plots of land to wealthy guests, who erected tent platforms or simple cabins. A central hotel served as a social center and provided supplies for the summer colony.³⁶⁶ The construction of railroads in the region in the last quarter of the century further facilitated access, but some features of earlier development remained: the new, sprawling "Great Camps" featured decentralized layouts, including a main lodge along with separate dining pavilions, boat-houses, and guest cabins — with each element recalling a self-contained hut.³⁶⁷

Although more elaborate than pioneer dwellings, the architectural vocabulary of Adirondack Camps, along with the philosophy of the camps, was inspired by these predecessors. Complexes built entirely of logs — rather than, for instance, more economical balloon-frame construction — became a well-established type. In the typical camp, logs were laid up as walls, framed as trusses, used as supporting purlins for roofs, and peeled to form beams and studs. This log structure was celebrated in the buildings' details: extensions of log ends, coping of intersecting

³⁶⁵ Mills, "The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks," 62-63.

³⁶⁶ Harvey H. Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks* (Boston: D. R. Godine, 1982), 48-49.

³⁶⁷ While these structures were sometimes described in the New York press and popular magazines as "Adirondack hunting lodges," the owners of the summer homes emphasized informal origins by calling them "camps." See Ibid., 63. The term persists today: some residents of Toronto, New Brunswick, and New York still refer to their summer cottage homes as "camps."

logs, and cross-bracing of poles became decorative elements [Figure 4-18]. Moreover, as relatively good insulators, the thick logs — along with the location of the cabins near breezy lakes and tree-shaded woods — helped inhabitants to escape hot temperatures. Not only did businessmen hunt from these log cabins, but they also brought their families to vacation in the Adirondacks, immersing them in a “back to nature” environment that they hoped would imbue them with frontier values.

Inspired by the symbolism of the primitive cabin and its incarnations in the Adirondack Camps, Western American park architects created an adapted version that architectural historians have dubbed “frontier rustic” or “park rustic” architecture. In 1903 the Northern Pacific Railroad commissioned Old Faithful Inn in Yellowstone Park. Designed by San Diego architect Robert Reamer, the resort structure was conceived as a massive log cabin [Figure 4-19]. High, steeply pitched roofs allowed hot air to be constantly vented, a feature shared by houses built for year-round residence in the Southern United States during the same period. Meanwhile, although the Inn’s foundations were built of concrete and its walls made with conventional light wood framing, rough boulders placed at the base, piers of stacked timbers, and brackets made from peeled branches referred to Adirondack cabin motifs and suggested a romantic, rustic cabin enlarged to giant proportions. Christine Macy and Sarah Bonnemaïson have argued that the Inn’s stylistic trappings expressed an ideal of the simple life at the core of American cultural values, while its enlarged size, amenities, and detailing opened that ideal to a broader audience.³⁶⁸

Tourists admired the design’s combination of Arts and Crafts interior elements with motifs

³⁶⁸ Macy and Bonnemaïson, *Architecture and Nature: Creating the American Landscape*, 82-83.

evocative of Adirondacks Camps. As landscape historians Ethan Carr and Linda McClelland have described, the style subsequently became a model for buildings erected in national parks across the United States, creating a consistent vocabulary of structures that were seen to blend in with their natural surroundings.³⁶⁹

In Canada as in the United States, log cabins were also widely used for dwellings in early settlement. The raw materials for log constructions were readily available throughout much of the country, and two major techniques are apparent. The first, appearing in French settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley as an adaptation of techniques from northwestern France, was a *pièce-sur-pièce* method of horizontally stacking roughly squared logs with tapered ends, and locking them in place with vertical posts [Figure 4-20]. In the early nineteenth century, this technique spread westward, particularly to the Red River Valley and to the Hudson Bay Company's inland posts, where it acquired the additional names "Red River frame" and "Hudson's Bay Company frame." In contrast, English speaking settlers including American Loyalist settlers used the "Pennsylvanian" or "American" method of log construction, which employed a range of methods for keying or cornering horizontally laid logs, from simply notching round logs while leaving the ends projecting, to dove-tailing squared logs. When the major expansion of settlement occurred across western Canada in the late nineteenth century, the American method of log construction was most frequently used, even if the *pièce-sur-pièce* method was well-suited to areas where

³⁶⁹ See Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service*, Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998).

only shorter logs were available.³⁷⁰ The important role played by English-speaking settlers from Ontario and the large numbers of settlers from the United States help to explain this development. As a result, log cabins in Canada built for purposes other than settlement, such as tourism, usually used the recognizable American style, whose construction technique would have been well known.

While the frontier myth was less developed in Canada, log cabins were used to enhance the wilderness qualities of natural settings, and would have invoked frontier ideas for American audiences.³⁷¹ Eastern Canada hosted American tourists as well as their Canadian counterparts, and promoted similar styles of vacationing to those popular in the United States, along with, in some cases, their accompanying physical structures. In the late nineteenth century, back-to-nature holidays in the Muskoka region of Northern Ontario offered a “rest-cure” to combat the effects of heat, overwork and “overcivilization,” especially among the urban middle classes. Both Canadian and American tourists traveled by rail and steamer to cottages and summer resorts that were well-established by the 1890s.³⁷² Just as they did in the Adirondacks, hotel

³⁷⁰ William C. Wonders, "Log Dwellings in Canadian Folk Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 2 (1979).

³⁷¹ This may reinforce the argument that the bungalow camps were intended primarily for American tourists, for whom the log cabins would have had greater cultural resonance. To explore the resonance of the “primitive hut” in Canada, a further vein of inquiry may be to examine the imagery of the trading post in greater depth. A more distinctively Canadian icon than the log cabin, fur trading posts along with forts were associated with frontier exploration and survival in early Canada. A mock trading post, the David Thompson Fort, was built at Lake Windermere in 1922, and in 1953, entrepreneur opened a museum of Indian curios in Banff built on the model of a log fort.

³⁷² Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, 105-32.

patrons in Canada constructed rustic cottages on land surrounding the hotels. In New Brunswick, Adirondack-style lodges were directly imported: exclusive American sportsmen's clubs, with members including architect Stanford White, built elaborate log lodges on leased salmon rivers in this region of Atlantic Canada during the late nineteenth century [Figure 4-21].³⁷³

Seeking to tap an American market, C.P.R bungalow camp designers looked to architectural precedents including the log-constructed Adirondack Camps and the "park rustic" style. The choice of log construction had practical benefits: the insulating qualities of the thick-walled constructions allowed for heat-retention during the relatively cold nights, which could drop to the low 40s even during the middle of summer. Moreover, by using rustic construction and detailing, a deliberately regressive aesthetic was cultivated. This was not the result of a local vernacular so much as it was an intentional decision. C.P.R. staff in Calgary or Montreal designed the buildings, experimenting with different techniques including conventional frame structures and *pièce-sur-pièce*. Buildings at Lake Windermere Camp were made from heavy timber 4 by 4s, which approximated the look of larger-dimension squared logs. The buildings at Yoho, erected in 1922, were conventional wood-frame structures clad with machine-milled boards, along with wood shingled-siding that added a rustic touch. The 1923 Moraine Lake chalet, built with what appears to be *pièce-sur-pièce* technique, replaced a 1913 lodge that was roughly constructed with vertical logs.

³⁷³ Gary Hughes, "Beaux-Arts in the Forest? Stanford White's Fishing Lodges in New Brunswick," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 26, no. 1, 2 (2001).

In the remainder of their bungalow camps, the C.P.R. settled on two principal styles — a rustic log vernacular and what they saw as a Swiss Chalet style that reinforced the C.P.R.'s campaign to promote the Rockies as the Canadian Alps.³⁷⁴ For the first type, the C.P.R. used rounded, peeled logs associated with constructions such as the Adirondack Camps and park rustic structures. In the second type, hewed, squared timbers that the C.P.R. associated with Swiss building techniques were employed. Most of the buildings in the bungalow camp program were built in the first style, while squared timbers were used for larger lodge buildings that included guest rooms, notably those at Emerald Lake and Wapta Lake. While locally abundant softwoods were deployed for the rounded, peeled log structures, the squared timber buildings ironically required sturdier hardwoods imported from other provinces. In both cases, designs were carefully detailed and construction was to a very high standard, distinguishing the bungalow camps from earlier roughly assembled buildings such as the original log chalet on Lake Louise, and other utilitarian structures constructed by the C.P.R. and Parks Service.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ The peeled-log vernacular style was also espoused by the rival Canadian National Railway in Jasper Park Lodge, opened in 1922. The complex initially consisted of nine sleeping cabins and a kitchen-dining hall. However, by 1925 it had evolved into a resort with over 50 log structures, including a grand main lodge. In contrast to the natural settings maintained in the majority of C.P.R. bungalow camps, Jasper Park Lodge had a manicured aesthetic that included flower-bordered lanes, lawns, and a golf course.

³⁷⁵ For example, compare the rough character of Wiwaxy Lodge, constructed on a meadow near Lake O'Hara in 1912, with the adjacent Elizabeth Parker Hut, constructed in 1919. Although both were constructed by the C.P.R., the latter marks the beginning of the sustained program to develop a network of backcountry lodges in the Rockies. It exhibits a much more self-conscious approach to rustic design, with its meticulous log construction detailing, careful proportioning, and massive stone fireplace. See Edward Mills, *Rustic Building Programs in Canada's National Parks, 1887-1950* (Ottawa: Parks Canada National Historic Sites Directorate, 1994), 81-84.

The most elaborate designs in a Swiss-inspired style were produced for an addition to Emerald Lake Chalet constructed in 1925 and the chalet at Lake O'Hara, built in 1926. For the Emerald Lake addition, the original lodge was nearly doubled in size; the expanded building housed an enlarged dining room, kitchen, offices, staff dining room, ice and vegetable storerooms, and a new wing of guest rooms [Figure 4-22].³⁷⁶ What the C.P.R. conceived of as the "Swiss" styling of the original structure was maintained, by employing stepped corbels to support the new roof and heavy timber construction throughout. Simple wooden railings and balustrades ringed the perimeter of both ground and upper floors. The hefty vertical wood columns were given further emphasis in the new building, where they extended up through the second-story balconies to support the roof.

Like the Emerald Lake hotel, Lake O'Hara's lodge was a two-story design featuring squared timber construction, stepped roof corbels, and heavy timber columns [Figure 4-23].

Differentiating it from Emerald Lake, the second floor was cantilevered over a verandah that wrapped three sides of the building. During construction, certain features were modified from the design drawings: a cantilevered balcony was added to the second floor, and seven-stepped corbels supported the roof, giving the building a more Swiss character than the drawings suggested [Figure 4-24]. Inside, walls were finished in white painted plywood with dark brown lathing, creating an effect reminiscent of half-timbered Swiss houses [Figure 4-25]. For both the

³⁷⁶ Barnes, *Great Lodges of the Canadian Rockies*, 80.

lodges at Emerald Lake and Lake O'Hara, squared Douglas fir timbers were shipped in by rail from Vancouver, then hauled by horse-drawn wagon or sleigh to the building sites.³⁷⁷

For cabins and in the central lodges of other bungalow camps, rounded, peeled log construction was used. At Lake O'Hara, rounded log cabins built in 1919 were moved to the lakeshore to accompany the new lodge. The six cabins at Storm Mountain were built to a similar model in 1922. Additional log rafters, along with columns, railings, balustrades, and window frames built from peeled logs added self-consciously rustic details that recalled Adirondack Camp detailing [Figure 4-9 and 4-26]. Further distinguishing them from earlier designs, each cabin included its own oversized stone chimney and fireplace. A high quality of construction was again evident: scribed logs were custom-fitted together without chinks, corners were saddle-notched, and front roof overhangs borne by oversized log purlins and vertical corner posts. Commodious porches equipped with seating allowed guests to enjoy the outdoors even in rainy conditions. The Storm Mountain lodge was similarly constructed from massive peeled logs, which were left exposed on the interior — a deliberately unfinished effect, compared to interiors such as the Lake O'Hara lodge [Figures 4-27 and 4-28]. A lodge built at Vermilion River, opened in 1923, had a similar design with massive, peeled log construction, a low-slope, cross-gabled roof, and open verandah for outdoor dining [Figure 4-29].³⁷⁸

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 90.

³⁷⁸ In 1929 the C.P.R. closed the Vermilion River Bungalow Camp, apparently due to the lack of an adequate water supply. In December of that year, its log sleeping cabins were relocated to the more successful bungalow camp at Storm Mountain, while the lodge was left on site. In 1932, the lease on the site was sold to Victor H. Lord, who added a series of log cabins over the following decade and revived the bungalow camp operation. Both Vermilion and Storm

To complement the bungalow camps, the C.P.R. erected rest structures and teahouses in scenic locations along nearby trails. These more remote structures generally had a rough appearance and used local materials. Teahouses at Summit Lake, Twin Falls, and Natural Bridge were fashioned from large-dimension logs cut in the immediate vicinity. Similar to the detailing of the cabins at Storm Mountain, rounded, peeled logs appeared not only for structural walls, but also as window sills, door frames, and balcony railings [Figure 4-30]. The Plain of Six Glaciers Tea House featured massive stone walls, with a two-story verandah fashioned from local logs. Swiss guides participated in its construction, as well as in the erection of a stone rest house in Abbott Pass, the 7,532-foot high summit of a trail between Lake Louise and Lake O'Hara. Other rest houses were one-story cabins at lower elevations; most were built from logs, although a few were constructed from milled lumber.³⁷⁹

The C.P.R. constructions in the bungalow camp program alternately evoked American cabin structures and Swiss mountain buildings, promising a simpler mode of life close to nature. The former model, in particular, evoked masculine ideals associated with pioneers and sports hunting. As mock primitive huts, they tapped into the log cabin myths of origin associated with the American settlement of the frontier, allowing the visiting city-dweller to imagine himself as a modern-day Daniel Boone or a Davy Crockett, with a frontier attitude of self-sufficiency.

Mountain are operational as bungalow camps today; the lodges remain largely unchanged in appearance from their original construction in the 1920s.

³⁷⁹ Mills, "The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks," 68.

However, far from being purely utilitarian structures as true pioneer cabins would have been, the bungalow camps were studied designs: their size and refinement of construction provided a level of comfort far above and beyond simple canvas tents or basic log cabin shelters.

A Feminine Touch: Bungalow Interiors

Key to the bungalow camp program's success was its appeal to an expanded audience — the elite men and women who traditionally patronized resort hotels, along with middle-class patrons who could afford to splurge for a luxury vacation. When the C.P.R. had earlier supported mountain climbing, hunting, and fishing in the Rockies, many of these excursions were directed towards men assumed to be experienced with this type of travel. For instance, the 1891 *Fishing and Shooting* guide provided minimal guidance: “we do not propose to take you by the hand and lead you into the wilds, and hold your rifle while you pot your game [...] you are a sportsman, and know how to secure your own quarry, if you can but once reach its haunts, and this book will insure that.”³⁸⁰ Similarly, the *Sportsman's Maps* marked only the line of the railway and the game to be obtained in each region, with sketches of canoe loops added to later editions.³⁸¹ It was presumed that hunting parties needed only to know which regions to travel to by train, and would subsequently navigate the woods with the help of independently hired local guides.

In contrast, the bungalow camps were designed and marketed to appeal not only to men who fancied themselves rugged sportsmen, but to people with varying physical abilities, and in particular to members of the fairer sex, either traveling with companions or on their own. This

³⁸⁰ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Fishing and Shooting*, 3.

³⁸¹ For a selection of these maps, consult Chung Collection CC-FOLDR-00194.

was especially evident in the interior design of the lodges and cabins, and the designation of the latter as “bungalows.”

If the term “camp” conjured images of backwoods hunters, the word “bungalow” carried its own set of values. Originally referring to low-lying rest-houses erected by the English government along colonial roads in Bengal, the term began to take on a variety of associations at the end of the nineteenth century. British colonialists idealized the image of a bungalow-style of life abroad, and began constructing Indian-inspired dwellings near British seaside resorts, which they named “bungalows.” The idea of the bungalow as a purpose-built, rustic-styled leisure dwelling was fully established by the 1880s. As city-dwellers began traveling to the British countryside for leisure in the following decades, “bungalow” type dwellings were selected as places that suggested a simplification of life, in contrast to the busy, noisy city.³⁸² As Anthony King explains in his cultural history of the building type,

The idea of a dwelling appropriate to these new, more spacious country or outer suburban plots, with accommodation principally on one floor, was, in retrospect, a revolutionary development. There had, of course, always been single-storey cottages, but these were essentially artisan or proletarian dwellings. The Edwardian middle class had to rediscover the convenience of single-storey living on a larger scale.³⁸³

The term and typology of the bungalow also spread to North America, where it supported a back-to-nature ethos within emerging suburban settings. Some suburbs began as summer resort towns, where women and children resided during the hot months. The male head of the

³⁸² Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 105.

household joined them on weekends, residing in the city during the work week. With the development of commuter transportation systems such as horse-drawn streetcars in the late nineteenth century, permanent year-round residence in suburban locations became possible for elite families. Like resort developments, suburbs positioned themselves against what their owners saw as degrading urban and agricultural landscapes. Situated outside the industrial cities, they were well-ventilated and afforded opportunities for outdoor occupation, essential to maintaining the health of a family at a time when disease was thought to spread through air-borne miasmas. Distinguishing them from low-class farms, these residential borderlands posited higher standards of picturesque beauty than the agricultural landscapes that they sometimes replaced. In line with the back-to-nature movement, the countryside was valued as scenery and as an escape from the city, rather than as productive agricultural land. In the early twentieth century, suburbs became increasingly affordable and accessible to a broader audience in the United States. In Canada, there were fewer elite and middle-class suburbs, but immigrant and working-class owner-builders began to erect unplanned suburbs outside of cities during the same period.

Key to the typology in both countries was the private detached home. For Kenneth Jackson, this phenomenon stemmed from a desire to create places of stability within a shifting labor market; other scholars including Gwendolyn Wright have pointed to origins in the Jeffersonian ideal of a stable agrarian citizenry housed in small farm cottages. Progressive reforms and the rise of domestic science yielded the pre-WWI bungalow, an efficient dwelling including all the main

features of the suburban home, and which promised a simplified, private family dwelling surrounded by open space and healthy, clean air.³⁸⁴

Recalling the salient features of suburban homes, the bungalows in C.P.R. camps were efficient dwellings that offered privacy, a sense of ownership, and access to fresh air. In the 1923 *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, author Betty Thornley delivered an effusive narrative account of camp life addressed to an implicitly female “city-wearied” apartment-dweller.³⁸⁵ The sound of rain on the roof of a bungalow-style cabin brought to mind, Thornley suggested, memories of the “big old house” of her reader’s childhood.³⁸⁶ Although small in size, the bungalow was independent from other dwelling-units, and thus could act as a self-sufficient, home-like sanctuary. Far removed from city life and the incursions of other people, the dwellings served as private retreats away from the bustle of business and social life.

³⁸⁴ For the history of early suburbs in the United States, see John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003). Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). Developments of early suburbs in Canada are treated in Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

³⁸⁵ Also see the brochure’s expanded version, which included descriptions of Ontario camps. Betty Thornley and Madge Macbeth, *Bungalow Camps in Canada* (Canada: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1924).

³⁸⁶ Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 5.

Like suburban homes, the bungalow camps were expected to be as comfortable and convenient as the most up-to-date city dwellings. A 1916 article in the *Women's Home Companion* expressed this in its declaration, "The old-fashioned log cabin is the new-fashioned summer camp, with all the comforts of modern life and all the picturesqueness of pioneer days." Thus, while the exterior of the bungalow cabins suggested a hardy, rustic life, the interiors were fitted with simple, yet complete amenities and furnished with decorative schemes that recalled suburban counterparts. This seeming contradiction was encapsulated in the title of Elon Jessup's 1923 book — *Roughing it Smoothly*.³⁸⁷

One illustration in Thornley's booklet showed a neat, trim cabin interior with a caption inviting closer examination of "your brown and beige bungalow with blue curtains" [Figure 4-31].³⁸⁸ In contrast with the heavy, masculine aesthetic of hunting lodges or the lavishly appointed hotels of the era, the bungalows espoused the casual home decorating standards of their time. In line with women's magazines that urged readers to replace the heavy drapes and dark walls of the late Victorian era with gauzy curtains and light colors, the pictured scene included light tan walls, blue floral curtains and pink bedsteads. Photographs from other brochures showed interiors with light curtains, simple wooden tables and elegant bedsteads. Small outdoor porches added to the home-like feel of the dwellings. At Emerald Lake, private baths in each cabin gave an additional level of amenity that cast the cabins as self-contained suburban houses in miniature. While the earliest alpine cabins and camping shelters in the Rockies would have attracted a predominantly

³⁸⁷ Quoted in King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, 136.

³⁸⁸ Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 2.

male audience, the bungalow camps of the 1920s were designed as environments where entire families could safely and comfortably sojourn.

In Thornley's 1923 illustration, a man and woman with implicitly gendered roles inhabited the cabin. The man held a brace of fire logs, while the woman's pink top associated her with the similarly colored bedsteads and suitcase, as well as a shelf of pink-covered books and framed photos. These visual cues identified the cabin-interiors as a feminine realm, inhabited and tended to by women. However, the woman in the brochure was not effete, but rather dressed in what could be mistaken for men's clothes — a tie-like scarf, collared shirt, and pants. The resulting image suggested that the cabin was the realm of a new kind of woman, who could have domestic qualities while also displaying a certain degree of male toughness. In fact, women leased and operated several of the camps as C.P.R.-subsidiaries.³⁸⁹ A photograph in a Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp brochure showed two women inside a cabin, one sitting on a bed, the other standing by a table adorned with a white tablecloth and oil lamp; sunlight entering through gauzy white curtains [Figure 4-25]. A photo from a Wapta Lake Bungalow Camp brochure again included two women tending to the space, possibly two of the camp's three long-time managers: Miss Barbara Dodds, Mrs. Carr, and Mrs. Martin. One arranged flowers on the table and another tended to the washstand, two items that added domestic comfort to the spaces [Figure 4-32].³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ Morley Roberts, *On the Old Trail: Through British Columbia after Forty Years* (London: Nash, 1927), 47.

³⁹⁰ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Wapta Bungalow Camp* (1930). CCA.

Through the 1920s, the architecture and programming of the central building increasingly incorporated feminine elements into what was essentially an updated version of the traditionally male-dominated hunting lodge. In 1921 and 1923 brochures, Lake Wapta Camp was described as having “a Central Community House for dancing and recreating purposes, 30 feet square, with a wide gallery round the sides.”³⁹¹ One photograph from the 1921 brochure showed a party taking afternoon tea at a table with a lace tablecloth on the verandah of Emerald Lake Chalet, another showed a larger ensemble of women in white dresses and men in suits dining on the Community House verandah at Lake Windermere [Figure 4-33]. A two-page-spread in *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* illustrated an interior at Wapta Lake Bungalow Camp, where “that evening, up at the Community house with its gay flowers and chintzes everywhere, yellow and green and brown like the woods themselves, you join the ring around the blazing logs in the great home fireplace” [Figure 4-34]. While some features reminiscent of hunting lodges were present — the heavy stone fireplace, exposed wood rafters, and mounted heads of moose, a ram and a buffalo — others were decidedly domestic features. For instance, plants were hung from the ceiling and crowded the mantle, while bouquets adorned a piano. Floral curtains framed the windows, and Chinese-style lanterns added an exotic touch — a far cry from the smoky kerosene lamps of backwoods cabins. Instead of heavy wood furniture, lightly built wicker furniture was used, giving the space a feeling of modernity. A mix of men and women in a variety of groupings (two men talking together, one man alone, a woman alone, a man and woman conversing, another man and woman dancing) indicated the suitability of the space to accommodate a diverse demographic, while the inclusion of children by the fireplace identified it

³⁹¹ ———, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canada: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1921), 3.

as a home hearth writ large, in the middle of what might be seen — and was sometimes called — the camp’s giant “living room.”

The interiors at Emerald Lake were similarly appointed. An enlargement of the facility, completed in 1925, gave the establishment a total of sixty-four guest rooms in bungalows with electric light, running water, clothes-closets and private baths. In the Club House — a building set apart from the main chalet and dining room — guests could enjoy “a splendid hardwood floor for dancing, writing desks, card tables, a piano, a victrola, an enormous fire place and plenty of comfortable chairs and lounges.”³⁹² Thornley noted the suitability of these “camping de luxe” arrangements to comfort-oriented, well-off guests. “There are tennis courts, and ladies in real riding boots that couldn’t possibly be climbed in and aren’t going to be,” she wrote.³⁹³ An illustration showing the verandah of the club house reinforced the refined air of the location: a woman in high heels lounged on a wicker bench, while others guests clad in suits and dresses gazed onto the lake and mountains [Figure 4-35].³⁹⁴

The presence of women — both as characters in illustrations, and as hidden hands in the furnishing and decoration of the bungalows and community buildings — transformed the typically male-associated log cabin and lodge exteriors into spaces that welcomed their female companions, as well as women traveling solo. The idea of wilderness as an exclusively male

³⁹² _____, 8.

³⁹³ Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 17.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

proving ground, associated with earlier hunting lodges, was here re-interpreted in comfortable camps outfitted with idealized suburban bungalow interiors.

On the Trails in the Canadian Rockies

Recreational opportunities associated with the camps emphasized close encounters with nature, again for an enlarged audience. In conjunction with the creation of the bungalow camps, the railway promoted a series of highly organized programs of hiking, horseback riding, and motoring.³⁹⁵ Well-marked routes and planned group excursions offered tamed adventures suitable to a wide audience. As such, they expanded on a tradition of accessible touring through the Rockies.

As discussed in Chapter 2, a range of hiking trips was available to tourists visiting locations such as Glacier House, from simple day-hikes to strenuous climbs of mountain peaks in the company of Swiss guides. The Alpine Club of Canada, founded in 1906 with the support of the C.P.R., also reached out to neophyte alpinists by marking trails, erecting a clubhouse in Banff, and conducting annual mountaineering camps. These attracted a mix of male and female tourists, although membership in the Club remained predominantly male. An account of a camp excursion published in 1909 noted that the camp was “graced by numerous members of the fair

³⁹⁵ Canoeing is a quintessential form of Canadian recreation which dates back to First Nations transportation technology, and was crucial to the logistics of the fur trade. While canoeing was heavily associated with wilderness ideals in Eastern Canadian recreational regions, including Algonquin Park and the Muskokas, it was less heavily promoted in the Rockies. Canoes were available on lakes adjacent to the bungalow camps, and are depicted in promotional brochures. However, because of the topography of the region and lack of interconnected lakes, one could not travel between camps by canoe (as was possible, for instance, in Algonquin Park). Therefore, no canoe-based equivalent to the popular hiking and horseback riding tour groups was ever formed.

sex.” Camp regulations included recommendations for clothing to be worn by women: “knickerbockers with putters or gaiters and sweater” were suggested, and “no lady climbing who wears skirts or bloomers will be allowed to take a place on a rope, as these have been found a distinct source of danger to the party.” The same recommendations added, however that “skirts are fashionable around the camp-fire.”³⁹⁶ Hotel patrons had the opportunity to take horseback excursions along trails that led from the various hotels each spring, staying in tent camps established by tour operators.³⁹⁷ As Bart Robinson described, elite guests enjoyed the novelty of an alpine climb: “most of the guests were willing to exchange the formality of eastern dress for a pair of sheepskin chaps or a pair of tricouni-nailed climbing boots”³⁹⁸ — an attire perhaps similar to the garb of their Swiss guides [Figure 4-36]. In doing so, they were dressing up and briefly inhabiting a role. These riding and hiking trips were seen as exotic excursions embedded within luxury vacations: the outings were among a full menu of tourist offerings that also included visits to the hot springs, tours of the animal paddock and zoo, and carriage rides to local scenic spots. Visitors could also choose to savor the region entirely from the luxurious hotel grounds: bathing in swimming pools with hot spring water, gazing at the scenery from terraces, and golfing on hotel courses.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ “The Alpine Clubs,” *Montreal Gazette*, Aug. 13 1909.

³⁹⁷ Mills, “The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks,” 63.

³⁹⁸ Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*, 28.

³⁹⁹ Winter tourism in the Banff area began to be promoted in 1917 with the first Banff Winter Carnival. However, winter tourism will not be discussed here since the bungalow camps received guests from spring to fall only during the 1910s and 1920s. The first downhill ski resorts, Sunshine Valley and Norquay, were opened in the 1930s. The Banff Springs Hotel was not open year-round until 1969.

In contrast, a certain level of active recreation was a primary goal of a bungalow camp vacation, and appealed to visitors' sense of authentic identity.⁴⁰⁰ In addition to day trips, hiking and riding between camps was presented as an integral part of the experience, often eliciting longer descriptions in brochures than accounts of the camps themselves. The idea of a multi-day circuit recalled a long-established tradition of Swiss Alpine tourism, in which visitors hiked from village to village, staying at local inns and hotels. A 1921 bungalow camp brochure was thus structured around an itinerary that led between the "five camps — each different" that were completed at that time.⁴⁰¹ The text highlighted the landscapes to be seen on this journey, ranging from heather-carpeted alpine meadows near Lake O'Hara to the spectacular Yoho glacier, located between Emerald Lake Chalet and Yoho Camp.

The idea of a journey leading between camps was particularly foregrounded in Thornley's bungalow camp brochure, issued in December, 1923. Thornley's second-person narrative addressed a female reader who undertook a four-week tour, by horseback, hiking, and chauffeured car, through the entire network of Canadian Pacific Rockies camps. The subject of the brochure was constantly active: she hiked, rode, or went driving almost every day in her journey, with the bungalow camps offering places of respite after long days spent outdoors. The vacation was thus structured less around residence at a single luxury hotel, as would have been

⁴⁰⁰ With the exception of those who chose to stay exclusively at the "camp de luxe" of Emerald Lake Lodge.

⁴⁰¹ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 2. A brochure published early in 1923, with the same title, suggested a similar itinerary.

the norm with larger resort establishments in North America, but rather as a peripatetic journey between nodes in a recreational wilderness.

In Thornley's account, trails led to lookouts or other camps, but also formed scenic journeys to be valued for their own sake. For instance, at one point the reader was invited to decide whether to "walk the seven miles to Yoho Glacier? Or ride [horseback]?" Either way, the trip wended "over the road that loses itself in acres of stones, criss-crossed by a raging little glacial stream divided into a dozen streamlets — on through a stately avenue of trees like the approach to a great castle — up a hill, where the road runs out into a trail — down the hill again, beside a little lost lake — and so on to Laughing Falls." This type of account emphasized the landscape experience of the trip itself, as much if not more than the destination to be ultimately attained.

Similarly, the activities of riding, hiking, and motoring were cast as opportunities to view scenery. Rather than a strenuous activity, trail riding was attractive as a relatively easy endeavor that yielded opportunities to contemplate the scenery. Thornley asked her reader to imagine sitting at ease on the "philosophic back" of a "white horse called 'Tommy,'" and feel her mind "float out between the trees, across the blue-grey distances till it comes to rest on those eternal hills that hump their amazing backs into the sky. [...] it's all so immense. You begin to think O'Hara has retired up some secluded valley [...] but you make a sudden twist to the left, Tommy climbs nobly with an eager look in his eye, and — you're there!"⁴⁰² As a figure intimately familiar with the landscape, the horse would navigate the intricacies of the trail practically

⁴⁰² Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 5-6.

without guidance, allowing its rider to enjoy a meditative engagement with the surrounding landscape [Figure 4-37].

In contrast to the ease of trail riding, hiking was presented as a somewhat more strenuous activity, with concomitant landscape rewards. After “you hoist yourself up another brown aerial staircase” and undertake a “last and stiffest climb” you attain a sublime panorama: “an immense and secret valley to the right, a valley that clouds could sail in, and hundred-year forests;” around the corner, a “last great tableland where there’s neither peaceful stream, nor huge rock, nor whistling marmot — nothing but infinite silence, and white heather, and great tongues of snow in the hollows.”⁴⁰³ The evocation of a solitary, immense view echoed accounts by alpinists of mountain peaks as sites of religious or spiritual transformation. John Muir, for instance, ascended the “pure wilderness” of Mount Ritter to find a desolate landscape “without a single leaf or sign of life,” and was rewarded by a panoramic view of the surrounding mountains and canyons, which to his eyes were “Nature’s poems carved on tables of stone.”⁴⁰⁴ In the bungalow camp brochure, an amateur hiker attained a similarly revelatory landscape view which she experienced as “the home of the ultimate peace.” However, rather than requiring extensive equipment or expertise, the danger-free excursion — and its rewarding views — could be achieved by an inexperienced solitary hiker.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 9.

⁴⁰⁴ John Muir, “A Near View of the High Sierra,” in *The Mountains of California* (New York: Century, 1894).

The layout of the C.P.R.-created trail network facilitated a self-sufficient style of travel. In addition to hiking paths already established through the Rocky Mountain Parks by the 1920s, the C.P.R. promoted a tight network of trails in the region of the bungalow camps [Figure 4-38]. These were equipped with rest houses and cabins at regular intervals, many of which offered meals and in some cases, basic accommodations to visitors who chose to linger overnight.⁴⁰⁵ Generally, stops were located at seven-mile intervals, about a leisurely 2-hour ride or 3-hour hike. In some cases, they were closer to one another. For instance, one popular excursion led from Emerald Lake to a teahouse at Summit Lake (3.5 miles away); one could then continue to the nearby Yoho Camp, or trek to a chalet at Twin Falls (another 7.5 miles). The relatively close distances allowed for rest stops within an easy half-day's journey of each other.

A group called Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, founded by C.P.R. publicity agent John Murray Gibbon in 1923, further encouraged a relaxed style of recreational travel on this trail network. As Gibbon recounts, the group was conceived when his camping party was caught in the exotic throes of a summer blizzard:

On the third morning I got an idea. 'Let's start an Order of Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, and base the qualification for membership on buttons — Americans love buttons. They can join the Order and wear buttons according to the mileage of trails over which they have ridden — a bronze button for fifty miles, a silver button for a hundred miles, a gold one for five hundred miles and an enameled one with colour for two thousand five hundred miles [Figure 4-39].'⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ Teahouses at Lake Agnes and Plain of Six Glaciers (1924) still exist in the vicinity of Lake Louise. See Canadian Pacific Railway Company, "Map of the Skyline Trail of the Rockies," (n.d.). (Glenbow Archives, Hotel Fonds M-7588-43)

⁴⁰⁶ John Murray Gibbon, "Scot to Canadian — One of More than a Million," (CP Archives), 130-31.

In contrast to exclusive sportsmen's clubs, the group was perhaps modeled on the American Sierra Club in its policies of inclusiveness. Membership was relatively easy to achieve, with the fee fixed at \$2. The founding charter declared that membership was open to all "irrespective of age, sex, creed, colour or profession," so long as they subscribed to the club's spirit of "reverence and for the majesty and beauty of Nature."⁴⁰⁷ The Trail Riders' annual rides prioritized the comfort of members, in line with the broad audience they hoped to attract. Western saddles were used, which provided more padding than English saddles, and the excursions went no faster than a brisk walking pace of four miles an hour, "this giving the riders a chance of looking at and enjoying the flowers and trees and glimpses at times of glaciers adjacent to the trails."⁴⁰⁸ One guide was assigned for every ten guests to keep the group together, and to assist in meal and camp preparations. There were rest stops each hour, a lunch break, and a five o'clock arrival time at the night's designated camp.⁴⁰⁹ Accommodations during the rides were in camps consisting of "Indian Teepees," some of which were located near the grounds of bungalow camps.⁴¹⁰ Apparently, the trips succeeded in attracting many different types of people, in accordance with the Order's mandate. As British novelist Morley Roberts witnessed in 1927,

Presently the trail-riders came in, and the camp filled up with the coloured and striped blanket coats and all sorts of costumes and characters, girls from

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Gibbon, "Scot to Canadian — One of More than a Million," 130-31.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 131-34.

⁴¹⁰ An advertisement for the second annual ride, for instance, outlined the following agenda: "First night will be spent in camp on the Wolverine Plateau, second night at Lake O'Hara, third night at Wapta, where the 'Pow Wow' will be held." The use of Indian imagery will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter. Canadian Pacific Railway Company, "Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies," (1928).

Lipstickville, professors and businessmen from New York and Quebec, Englishmen, Americans, British Columbians, and some I could not easily place or catalogue.⁴¹¹

To an increasing degree over the 1920s, recreationally active women featured in C.P.R. publicity materials for the bungalow camps. In a 1921 brochure, the gender of two riders at the front of the brochure was ambiguous, although their softened facial features and short hair gave them a certain androgynous character [Figure 1-14]. A section entitled “Hints to Hikers” addressed prospective female hikers, with recommendations for conditioning feet a week before hiking by applying alcohol and lanolin, and a caution that “high heeled shoes are absolutely useless for trail or road walking and are quite dangerous on steep trails.”⁴¹² This somewhat patronizing tone was soon dropped. In 1923, a woman was the foreground figure on a brochure cover, which showed three riders ascending a golden-grassed hillside against a mountain backdrop [Figure 4-40]; a woman also occupied the bow of a canoe on the first page. A menu cover created in 1928 prominently featured a skirted female rider on a pink-toned horse [Figure 4-41]. In part, these images reflected a change in women’s attitudes and attire following WWI. In this era, fashion favored items that allowed for greater freedom of movement — for instance, approving of loose shift dresses rather than restrictive hobble skirts. Outside of cities, hiking or riding astride a horse (rather than using the traditional female side-saddle posture) would have been ways of expressing one’s identity as a new, youthful, thoroughly modern woman.

⁴¹¹ Roberts, *On the Old Trail: Through British Columbia after Forty Years*.

⁴¹² Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 6.

In summary, while the earlier sportsmen's movement identified wooded wilderness landscapes as a preserve for renewing primitive masculine energies, C.P.R. programs in the 1920s opened the woods to a broader audience of tourists. The feminized aesthetic of bungalow camps included home-like amenities, even while retaining exterior qualities reminiscent of early log cabins. Women were encouraged to join groups such as the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, and were depicted riding and canoeing in bungalow camp publicity. The bungalow camps and their associated programs retained the primitive allure of early hunting camps, but standardized the experience by encouraging tourists to stay in permanent cabins, use designated trails from which they would see the same scenery as other visitors, and participate in organized group excursions. In doing so, it made the landscape accessible to a wider audience as a recreational wilderness.

Automobile Tourism in the Rockies

Just as railway infrastructure was key to the establishment of Rocky Mountains Park in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, automobile roads were crucial in the expansion and development of the park system in the early twentieth century. This is particularly evident in the history of the Banff-Windermere road, designated a national park corridor and opened in 1923. C.P.R. tourism was a key factor in the highway's creation: the road was partly built with C.P.R. funds, and along its length, four strategically located C.P.R. bungalow camps offered accommodation.

Tourism was a major impetus for developing roads through the Rockies. The first carriage roads, established in the late nineteenth century, were local routes within the tourist towns of Banff,

Lake Louise, and Field. These were soon followed by drives to such scenic spots as Moraine Lake near Lake Louise and Lake Minnewanka near Banff. Roads were key in affirming the scenic value of these locales: in the case of Lake Minnewanka, the lake area was incorporated into the park reserve following the construction of a scenic drive. When Alberta was created in 1905, the new provincial government promised to construct a coaching road from Calgary to the eastern boundary of Rocky Mountains National Park, but it was assumed that only horse-drawn vehicles would use it.⁴¹³

However, well-to-do Americans had been descending from the railcars and hitting the road in motor-cars since the tail years of the nineteenth century. Cross-country recreational driving was an active pursuit rather than a passive diversion — motorists repaired their vehicles en route, battled bad roads and inclement weather, and improvised dining and sleeping arrangements. Despite — and in part because of — these contingencies, automobiles were seen as a positive alternative to trains. Driving was simpler and more independent than timetable-driven train travel, since drivers took on flexible schedules to accommodate repairs, could stop at a whim to linger over views, and might pursue a variety of routes through a region. More than being a mere mode of transportation, motoring was celebrated for its strenuous and challenging nature: almost exclusively male drivers engaged with motoring as they had with earlier frontierist activities of

⁴¹³ Armstrong, Nelles, and Evenden, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*, 287.

hunting and camping, using it as an opportunity to cultivate new skills, explore new territories, and exercise a sense of self-sufficiency.⁴¹⁴

Although cars were initially prohibited from Canadian parks, after 1911 the National Parks branch not only allowed motoring, but began to aggressively advance road-building projects through the Southern Rockies. Commissioner Harkin strongly advocated for the development of automobile routes. “Adequate trunk roads through the mountains will inevitably mean a huge automobile traffic, and consequently large expenditure of money by the autoists,” he wrote in his 1913 report, stressing “the revenue this country will obtain when thousands of automobiles are traversing the Parks.”⁴¹⁵

Harkin’s vision fell in line with a Canada-wide impetus to build roads catering to trade and motor tourism from the neighboring nation. Quebec’s first “modern road” linked Montreal with the United States in 1912, and Ontario’s first concrete highway was constructed between Toronto and Hamilton at the American border in 1913 to relieve congestion, largely from cross-border traffic.⁴¹⁶ In 1914 there were 1,711,339 registered motor vehicles in the United States and 74,246 in Canada. Although the per capita car ownership in both countries was within a percentage point (1.7% and 0.9% of the populations respectively), the vastly greater number of vehicles in the

⁴¹⁴ Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979), 19-39.

⁴¹⁵ Canada, *Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks*.

⁴¹⁶ This road is currently known as the QEW, or Queen Elizabeth’s Way.

United States made it a clear target for recruiting motor tourists.⁴¹⁷ High quality highways for trade and tourism thus connected all the provinces to the United States by the mid-1920s, even though the first automobile crossing of Canada would not occur until 1946. As historian Donald F. Davis explains, roads built partly to “lure American tourists faster and deeper” into the country accrued significant financial benefits to Canada, generating income through motor taxes and visitor spending that virtually paid for their construction.⁴¹⁸

American tourism was particularly important in the Rockies, an area that Americans frequented in numbers second only to Canadians throughout the 1910s. Tourists from the United States accounted for much of the luxury tourism, staying at C.P.R. establishments such as the Banff Springs Hotel and Château Lake Louise more often than their frugal Canadian counterparts. This tendency was reflected in Harkin’s appraisal of tourist spending in the park — “the foreign tourist will in most cases spend about \$100 in transportation alone, and in addition, spend large sums on hotels, liveries, souvenirs, etc.” he reported, calculating that the 150,815 foreign tourists to the Rockies in the years 1910 to 1915 spent at least \$15,081,500 during their time in the park. In contrast, he estimated that the average Canadian tourist spent only \$50 during their trips; thus

⁴¹⁷ This held throughout the period of this study: by 1919, there were some 7,558,848 registered vehicles in the United States and 342,433 in Canada; in 1928, the United States climbed to 24,493,124 vehicles while Canada kept pace proportionally at 1,069,343. National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, *Facts and Figures of the Automobile Industry* (1931), Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada and Social Science Federation of Canada, 1983). Series T147.

⁴¹⁸ Donald F. Davis, “Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21, no. 3 (1986): 125-26, Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*, 126-27, Norman R. Ball and Canadian Public Works Association, *Building Canada: A History of Public Works* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 43.

he estimated that the 171,008 domestic visitors from the same five-year period kept \$8,550,400 in the country. Good roads had the potential to exploit this trend, providing “a means of immensely increasing the revenue to be derived by the people of Canada from the tourist.”⁴¹⁹

The road between Banff and Calgary was completed in 1911, but few roads existed beyond that point. During the war, “enemy” internees working on the Banff golf course were redeployed to build the Banff-Lake Louise road.⁴²⁰ This road was completed in 1920, along with a highway linking the Southern Rockies to the United States.⁴²¹ Gradually, the roads bore increased tourism. In 1913, 173 automobiles entered the park, and by 1920, 2,774 cars were recorded.⁴²² By the mid-1920s, Harkin reported that more than half of the record 104,000 park visitors entered by car. Although Canadians outnumbered Americans, the latter represented a high-end clientele, whose ideals and capital were instrumental in the initial conception and construction of the roads.

The Banff-Windermere Highway

A crucial component of the Rocky Mountains network was the Banff-Windermere Highway, officially opened on June 30, 1923. First conceived in 1911, its eighty miles ran northwest from Banff, then south from Castle Mountain over the Vermilion Pass into the valley of the Columbia

⁴¹⁹ 1913 Annual report, p. 6

⁴²⁰ These workers included immigrant Canadians of Austro-Hungarian descent, mostly Ukrainians, detained during the war.

⁴²¹ Armstrong, Nelles, and Evenden, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*, 288.

⁴²² Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 19.

River [Figure 4-42]. The route was planned to open up the Columbia valley as a fruit-growing region with access to eastern and American markets in addition to enabling automobile-based tourism through the region.⁴²³ The road allowed for several new connections. It formed the completing link in what a 1922 C.P.R. brochure dubbed “The ‘Premier Tour’ of North America” and a 1923 government flyer called the “Canadian Rockies Circle Tour”: a 500-mile loop through the Western Canadian Parks that traversed Lethbridge, Calgary, Banff, Windermere, Cranbrook, and Fernie.⁴²⁴ As a parks annual report pointed out, this was a highly scenic drive — “500 miles during which the autoist will at all times be either in the Rockies or in full sight of them.”⁴²⁵ This circular tour also connected south at two points to join the American Park-to-Park Highway, a loop promoted by National Park Service Director Stephen Mather following his appointment in 1917. Designated from existing roads in 1920, the American trail traced a 5,000 mile path through twelve of the nation’s western parks: Mount Rainer, Crater Lake, Lassen Volcanic, Yosemite, General Grant, Sequoia, Zion, Grand Canyon, Mesa Verde, (American) Rocky Mountain, Yellowstone, and Glacier National Parks [Figure 4-43]. The Banff-Windermere Highway would create the missing link in an expanded loop that included the Canadian Yoho, Kootenay, Rocky Mountains, and Waterton Parks. Finally, by providing a route through the Rocky Mountains, the road would act as a segment in a planned motor road from Calgary to Vancouver.

⁴²³ Booster Robert Bruce was a key figure in leading provincial businessmen and politicians in a plan to develop the fruit-growing and tourist potential of the Columbia valley. See Deborah Wightman and Geoffrey Wall, “The Spa Experience at Radium Hot Spings,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 400.

⁴²⁴ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 18.

⁴²⁵ Canada, Department of the Interior, 1913, 8.

The conception and construction of the Banff-Windermere Highway, the first major road designed specifically for automobiles through the Canadian Rockies, brought together many different interests. These included the C.P.R., which because of its near-monopoly status as a lodging provider in the parks stood to benefit financially from increased tourism through the region by automobile as well as by rail. Moreover, the C.P.R. had substantial land holdings in the Columbia River Valley, at the southern end of the road. Evidently, they hoped land values would increase with the completion of road access and an influx of tourists.⁴²⁶ Under a 1911 agreement, the C.P.R. split the construction cost of the main portion of the Banff-Windermere Highway with the British Columbia Government, while the National Parks Branch of the federal Department of the Interior agreed to finance the road's construction within the boundaries of Banff National Park. In 1919, the National Parks Branch took over the construction of an uncompleted section of road in British Columbia, in return for a strip of land five miles wide on each side of the highway.⁴²⁷ The area — some 587 square miles in total — was designated as Kootenay National Park.

The idea of joining a protected park strip with a scenic road dated back to Frederick Law Olmsted's concept of scenic roadways for Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York. Primarily built

⁴²⁶ For a study of this dynamic, see the current PhD project by Ben Bradley, "Automobility, Landscape Change, and Experiences of History and Environment in the British Columbia Interior, 1920-1975," Queen's University, which includes a case study of the Lake Windermere area.

⁴²⁷ Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change...": 154.

for carriages, what he termed as “parkways” were designed as a unity of roadbed and adjacent vegetation, effectively forming a “narrow, elongated park.”⁴²⁸ Extra-urban parkways for automobiles began appearing in the 1910s, often with curvilinear arrangements that preserved landforms, and large rights-of-way that physically separated and visually screened the roadway from surrounding areas. What the Park Service calls “the oldest scenic highway in the United States,” the Columbia River Highway in Oregon, was partially opened in 1915 and completed in its 72-mile entirety in 1922. Its main designer, Samuel Lancaster, attempted to match the views found in coastal and lakeside highways in Europe on the American West Coast. A standardized width, gradual rises, and smooth curves made for a uniform and safe road.⁴²⁹ In urban settings, the burgeoning parkway movement produced an expanding network of auto-specific roadways spreading from New York City into Westchester County and Long Island, conceived as integral components of regional park systems and flanked by bridle paths and walking trails.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 146.

⁴²⁹ Samuel Christopher Lancaster, *The Columbia: America's Great Highway Through the Cascade Mountains to the Sea*, 2d ed. (Portland: S.C. Lancaster, 1916), National Park Service, "The Historic Columbia River Gorge," <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/hli/currents/columbia/historic.htm>. Accessed Oct. 3, 2010.

⁴³⁰ Timothy Davis, "The Rise and Decline of the American Parkway," in *The World Beyond the Windshield: Roads and Landscapes in the United States and Europe*, ed. Christof Mauch and Thomas Zeller (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), 41. As Davis describes, the early parkway model was used regionally and championed by the National Park Service. However, with the rise of limited-access freeways in the mid-1930s, parkways became a specialized recreational landscape, while stripped-down freeways capable of accommodating higher speeds and larger traffic volumes became the preferred model for federally sponsored highway construction.

In the case of the Banff-Windermere road, the designation of a 10-mile swath around the road as a national park was intimately linked to the conception of the region as a natural wilderness — a construct that went beyond merely including scenic views. A road development such as the Blue Ridge Parkway in the United States included a right-of-way that was a minimum of two hundred feet wide and an average of a thousand feet wide — an exceptionally wide area compared to average highways and previous parkways.⁴³¹ Along the Banff-Windermere road, the creation of a park that extended fifty times that distance would not only protect the scenery immediately visible from the road, but would also shelter the wildlife that inhabited the vicinity and helped qualify it as a *bone fide* wilderness. Going beyond the scenic views provided from trains, resort hotels, and even other parkways, the Banff-Windermere road immersed motorists bodily in a supposedly intact natural environment, which held the possibility for unorchestrated, face-to-face encounters with nature and its denizens. Like trail riders or hikers, motorists participated in what was promoted as a fully engaged encounter with raw nature, through an adventurous drive in the middle of a national park. The experience promised to these tourists is perhaps comparable to today's safaris, which transport sightseers in rugged jeeps to view the wildlife within what appears to be an open savannah, but in reality is a protected area. The creation of Kootenay National Park around the Banff Windermere Highway helped to protect wildlife that resided in the region; moreover, it provided an legitimizing designation of the area as a natural wilderness.

⁴³¹ Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "The Scenic is Political: Creating Natural and Cultural Landscapes along America's Blue Ridge Parkway," in *The World Beyond the Windshield: Roads and Landscapes in the United States and Europe*, ed. Christof Mauch and Thomas Zeller (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), 68.

Reinforcing the identity of the road's landscapes as wilderness regions, the presence of wildlife within the narrow park was a recurrent theme in both government and C.P.R. literature. "Much of the country traversed is noted for its big game — moose and black-tailed deer, brown and black bear, big horn and mountain goat,"⁴³² noted a C.P.R. passenger department bulletin in 1916, before the national park surrounding the highway was founded and hunting was permitted in areas adjacent to the road. Even after its designation and protection as Kootenay National Park, Thornley's 1923 brochure commented that the park strip allowed for convenient access to hunting grounds just beyond the National Park boundary — a refrain that would be repeated in other brochures. Hunting aside, drivers were urged to enjoy unrivaled opportunities for wildlife sightings along the highway corridor. The 1923 government guidebook included images of bears, Rocky Mountain rams, and ewes by the roadside [Figure 4-44]. A C.P.R. bulletin from 1927 bears an article titled "Wild Animals Friendly on Banff-Windermere Highway," which describes frequent sightings of "animals in their natural haunts." These included Rocky Mountain sheep "so tame that often motors have to slow down as they will persist, almost to the point of danger, in standing in the middle of the highway," a semi-tamed black bear named Bozo which "comes out on the highway as if he had sole right to it," and deer "in increasing number annually."⁴³³ Some of the wildlife was actively encouraged to frequent the highway. For instance, "Bozo" was clearly enticed to the highway by motorists who fed him, and wardens installed salt licks along the road so that other game would be drawn in full view of the motoring public.⁴³⁴ These devices

⁴³² Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 86, March 1, 1916, 9.

⁴³³ Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 223, August 1, 1927, Supplement, 1.

⁴³⁴ Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, 28.

were contrived so that visitors could see wildlife in situ, in contrast to the zoos and paddocks that housed game in Banff. These sightings were valued as encounters with the “authentic,” wild animal life of the region, and reinforced the region’s identity as a superabundant wilderness.

A core idea behind the Banff-Windermere Highway was its ability to give access to previously unvisited scenery, which was presented by C.P.R. promoters as another aspect of the road’s wilderness character. This is evident going back to one of the first documents in the road’s conception — a series of twenty-one photos sent by J.S. Dennis to C.P.R. president T.G. Shaughnessy on Oct. 23, 1911, showing views along a proposed route. Rather than neutral documentary images of terrain, these are carefully framed landscape views that include lake vistas, mountain peaks, and rushing streams. No signs of human inhabitation are present, apart from occasional tent-sites — which did not contradict the idea of wilderness since they signaled new opportunities for exploration, rather than permanent settlement [Figure 4-45].⁴³⁵

The theme of the road opening up undiscovered scenery recurs in promotional literature. “It passes through some of the grandest scenery of the Rockies and opens up much territory that is comparatively unknown,” stated a 1916 C.P.R. Bulletin. A journalist who traveled the route by pack-train just before its official opening described the “great silent vale” of the Columbia River valley as an “unknown and inaccessible” landscape, from which the “great motor road” was being “blasted out of the rock and hewed through the great forests of pines.”⁴³⁶ C.P.R. brochures

⁴³⁵ CP Archives, File 92730.

⁴³⁶ "Along the Banff Windermere Road," *Quebec Daily Telegraph*, Aug. 13 1923.

further emphasized the novelty of landscapes to be experienced along the route. The fresh motor road “lets the traveller into land so new that some of the mountains aren’t named yet, and almost none of the trails are fixed for guideless tourists,” claimed Thornley. The recurring theme of “new” landscapes drew on romantic ideals of frontier discovery and exploration. As such, it presented the landscapes as novel sights to be visually appropriated, or as it were, “consumed” by the tourist. As Thomas Zeller has argued in relation to similar parkways, “these landscapes groomed for transportation were not the result of an autonomous technology intruding upon unspoiled nature, but rather the outcome of human decisions based on desires, values, and professional status.”⁴³⁷ Like a solo hiker or rider, the driver ventured into a novel wilderness landscape, made newly accessible by the road.

Both C.P.R. and government brochures invariably included illustrations of the Sinclair Canyon section of the road, where the road snakes alongside a towering cliff [Figure 4-46]. This was generally depicted from a high vantage point, looking down on the road where a single car, or in some cases two vehicles, appeared on the winding road. The vehicle is tiny in comparison to the cliffs that rise precipitously on both sides, giving the scene a sense of sublime drama. In front of the car, the road disappears around a corner of the cliff into the unknown realm beyond. Through the cleft of the two mid-ground cliffs, a mountain peak can be viewed in the distance. The viewer (and motorist) is immersed in the rocky landscape, while having access to stunning views of alpine ranges. Emphasizing the ancient nature of this landscape, Thornley effused, “the new

⁴³⁷ Thomas Zeller, “Iconic Roads in Germany and the United States, 1930-1970,” in *Road History: Planning, Building and Use*, ed. Gijs Mom and Laurent Tissot (Neuchatel: Editions Alphil, 2007), 79.

world into which the road has bored its way is a world older than Time, yet, in some vivid and tremendous fashion, still unfinished.”⁴³⁸ In short, these views — made as much as they were found — were deliberately framed to create an adventure-filled driving experience, and allowing drivers to imagine they were reliving the pioneer discovery of new landscapes.

Nationalism in a Recreational Wilderness

For Americans, even as cars became affordable to middle-class drivers, locations such as the Rocky Mountains remained a preserve for relatively elite automobile tourism. Located far from urban centers in the United States, travel to the Rockies required sufficient funds for a long journey as well as the leisure time to drive out West. The C.P.R. bungalow camps were also relatively expensive destinations. In 1923, staying at a C.P.R. camp cost \$5.50 per day or \$5 for stays of a week or more, ranking them alongside the top-priced motels emerging as ultra-deluxe establishments for the most affluent auto-tourists in the United States.⁴³⁹ By comparison, working-class vacationers might have opted for staying in a free municipal campground, or rented a tent — which in Coronada Beach, California cost \$3-5 per week.⁴⁴⁰

While American tourist dollars were a strong impetus for advancing the C.P.R.’s recreational programs during this period, as foreseen by Harkin, Canadian tourists benefited from the resulting infrastructures. By 1928, 74% of the over 10,000 cars that entered from the south end

⁴³⁸ Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, 18.

⁴³⁹ Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945*, 141.

⁴⁴⁰ Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*, 211.

of the Banff-Windermere Highway were Canadian. While these largely middle-class tourists may have avoided C.P.R. establishments because of their high cost,⁴⁴¹ they enjoyed the scenery and wildlife sightings that contributed towards a wilderness experience of the drive. Certainly, they would have passed through the Park Branch's Kootenay Park gatehouse and alongside the Branch's administrative buildings at Radium Hot Springs townsite. These structures combined native wood, rough stone, and Tudor revival elements such as half-timbered gables, stepped stone chimneys, or flared eyebrow entrance hoods, in what historian Edward Mills dubs a fusion "Tudor rustic" style, which was becoming the standard for park architecture at the time [Figure 4-47].⁴⁴² In 1931, the Parks Branch started to permit the establishment of small private bungalow camps at specified locations within the western parks, opening up the previous C.P.R. monopoly on this type of tourist accommodation.⁴⁴³ Visitors could opt to stay at any of a dozen motor camps on the Banff-Windermere road, including Blakley's Bungalows, a 9-cabin camp featuring rounded log construction and jig-sawn Swiss trim [Figure 4-48].⁴⁴⁴ Other log-accommodations

⁴⁴¹ Wightman and Wall, "The Spa Experience at Radium Hot Spings," 407, M.B. Williams, *Kootenay National Park & The Banff Windermere Highway* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1930).

⁴⁴² By the mid-1920s, all plans for private buildings within the park were reviewed and approved by the Town Planning Division of the Parks Branch, which often recommended the incorporation of rough materials like peeled-log construction and details such as mock half-timbered gable ends. It is not clear whether the Park Branch's adoption of English Arts and Crafts architectural motifs was due to the stylistic inclinations of staff architect William Cromarty, or whether it was a policy decision on the part of the Branch's executive. In either case, it fit well with initiatives to promote the parks as distinctive from the United States, where Tudor Revival motifs were absent from National Parks architecture. Mills, *Rustic Building Programs in Canada's National Parks, 1887-1950*, 38-51.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴⁴⁴ Graham MacDonald, "The Alpine Architectural Heritage of the Four Mountain Parks: An Historical Review and Assessment," (Alberta: Parks Canada and Canadian Department of Heritage, 1994), 66.

through the area also appeared, extent examples including the Skoki Ski Lodge near Banff, Idelwyde Bungalows near Wasagamung, Paradise Bungalows at Lake Louise, and Num-Ti-Jah Lodge on the shores of Bow Lake. The railway company's marketing of the region as both a primitive backwoods and a North American Switzerland influenced the park's architectural policy and pervaded the culture of regional tourism.

The C.P.R.'s vision of the Canadian Rockies as a recreational wilderness is well conveyed by the 1924 map, *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* [Figure 4-49]. Seen from above, the multiple alpine ranges of the Canadian Rocky Mountains from Calgary to Vancouver Island sweep across the drawing. Provincial and international boundaries are absent, creating a continuous swath of landscape, while the perspective view compellingly engages the reader with its tangible sense of large scale and dramatic relief. Poppy-red lines mark C.P.R. rail tracks and lake-steamer routes that snake through the territory. Sketches of the C.P.R.'s resort hotels, drawn even larger than cities such as Calgary, adorn the rail route, suggesting their role as markers of civilization within the vast landscape. In the Banff and Lake Louise area a close inspection reveals the C.P.R. bungalow camps, the Banff-Windermere road, and hiking and riding trails winding through the mountains. Compared to the hotels, these form a delicate filigree of C.P.R. infrastructures that give access to remote pockets within the all-natural panorama of mountains and lakes.

The idea of the Rockies as a virgin wilderness region traversed by thin rail lines and roads was a potent image, and was reflected in the most influential strains of artistic thought in Canada at the time. Windswept, uninhabited landscapes were the main subjects for the Toronto-based Group of Seven's landscape canvases, which gained prominence as a nationally significant body of art

through the 1920s. As Douglas Cole explains, the group's early patrons were members of an upper- and middle-income urban elite within Canada, who admired the canvases in part because they carried associations with upscale leisure. The backwoods scenes reminded patrons of their own recreational wilderness vacations, hunting and hiking in Northern Ontario and Western Canada. As the National Gallery of Canada began purchasing these images, they promoted the Group of Seven as a "national school" of artists. The Group maintains its status as the defining artistic movement of modern Canada to this day.

Art historian Lynda Jessup has revealed a network of complex intersections between Canadian artists, railways, and cultural institutions, which helped the Group advance its position as a distinctly "national" school of art.⁴⁴⁵ In order to promote the landscapes along its line, the C.P.R. granted rail passes to select artists, including those comprising the Group of Seven. This sponsorship was directly reflected in their subject matter, which into the 1920s focused on landscapes in Georgian Bay, Algonquin Park, and Northern Ontario — areas that were directly accessed by railway. By 1924, various members of the Group began to travel west with the support of the C.P.R. In 1924, artist J. E. H. MacDonald sketched in the Banff and Lake O'Hara region for the first of many seasons, Lawren Harris traveled to Jasper, where he would return for a number of summers, and A. Y. Jackson also sketched in Jasper.⁴⁴⁶ More than simply painting

⁴⁴⁵ As Jessup argues, the C.P.R.'s patronage of the Group in the 1920s was an accepted continuation from the Company's policy of granting rail passes to landscape painters and photographers since the 1880s, which itself recalled the Intercolonial Railway's support for landscape artists seeking to support national cultural expressions as early as the 1870s. Jessup, "Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and 'The Business of Becoming a Nation'."

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 31. For a list of the trips taken by the members of the Group of Seven in the 1920s, see Dennis Reid, *The Group of Seven* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1970), 196.

views, the Group of Seven immersed themselves in their scenes. They were reputed for producing on-site oil sketches, a technique which validated their work by casting the artists as “authentic” Canadian outdoorsmen in pursuit of the “authentic” Canadian landscape.⁴⁴⁷

The Lake O’Hara Bungalow Camp took its place as one of these “authentic” Canadian landscapes when it was featured as a setting for several of MacDonald’s paintings. His *Lake O’Hara — seen from the Bungalow Camp* (1924), reproduced in the Canadian Pacific Railways brochure, *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (1928) [Figure 4-50], emphasized the remoteness of the bungalow camp by obscuring signs of inhabitation. However, the depicted landscape remained gentle, rendered in softly curved lines and pastel colors. While the snow-clad mountains hinted at the sublime, the placid surface of the lake presented opportunities for a soothing canoe ride, and the smooth, sunny rocks in the foreground suggested standing or sitting by the lakeshore. On the left hand mountain, a strip of yellow-brown earth extended down to the lake, suggesting the presence of a hiking trail up the mountain. These implicit invitations to commune directly with the natural world were made explicit in an accompanying text, which described a lakeside trail that winds “first through a jade temple of a forest, thence into an Alpine flower garden [...] The siren-song of a cascade calls, you push on, passing through a grove of spruces, and the richly colored waters of Lake O’Hara invite your admiration. One’s eyes are drawn up and up to the glorious peaks that stand guard around this lovely lake.”⁴⁴⁸ Since the log cabins of the bungalow camp “cluster right on the shore,” the painting was convincingly

⁴⁴⁷ Jessup, “Bushwhackers in the Gallery: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven.”

⁴⁴⁸ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, “Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies.”

positioned as MacDonald's actual view from the camp. It thus invited viewers to imagine themselves in the artist's place, as bungalow camp visitors looking out onto an idyllic Canadian wilderness landscape.

Another canvas by the same artist, *Lake O'Hara and Snow* (n.d.), depicted a similar scene in winter [Figure 4-51]. A lone tree, a device used by Claude Lorrain and a common trope in Group of Seven pieces, occupied the foreground.⁴⁴⁹ The effect was one of a foreground from a Group of Seven landscape set in the Great Lakes region, superimposed on a Rocky Mountains backdrop. Looking back to *Lake O'Hara — seen from the Bungalow Camp*, a smaller pine tree appeared in this previous image as well, in roughly the same location, just right of center in the foreground of the canvas. In both paintings, the closeness of the shoreline thrust the viewer into the landscape, placing her on the banks of the lake, an effect accentuated by the high horizon line, hidden behind the mountains, in the second piece. The composition of *Lake O'Hara and Snow* can be compared to a C.P.R. publicity photo of the camp, from across the lake, where a horse and rider occupied the foreground [Figure 4-52]. In the case of MacDonald's canvas, a tree stood in for the viewer, who was invited to imaginatively occupy the lakeshore vantage point. In both paintings, mountains occupy most of the canvas. However, here the tree is the subject, and the mountains blend into an almost continuous backdrop along with the sky and reflections on the lake. In both images, the viewer stands on the shoreline rather than in the midst of the mountains, looking over a lake towards the alpine skyline. The mountains contribute to a sense of enclosure against the foreground of shoreline and water occupied by the viewer.

⁴⁴⁹ Jonathan Bordo, "Jack Pine: Wilderness Sublime or the Erasure of the Aboriginal Presence from the Landscape," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 4 (1992).

In line with the C.P.R.'s bungalow camps and the promotion of a recreational wilderness, paintings such as *Lake O'Hara and Snow* encouraged imaginative immersion along with the artist into a landscape of lakes and woods, against a mountain backdrop. This contrasts the kind of nature-viewing possible from luxurious resort hotels, with their more detached relationship to distant mountain views. Instead of maintaining a physical separation between the luxurious surroundings of the viewer and the brutal landscape they looked upon, the Group's paintings emphasized a full engagement with the landscape.

The Group believed the nation, the environment, and the land to be inextricably linked; thus their landscape depictions claimed to be not only of regional or commercial art interest, but of an inherently national character and value. The public statements they made contributed towards a growing mythology of their work as national in character. For instance, one member commented that in the minds of the Group, Canada was "a long thin strip of civilization on the southern fringe of a vast expanse of immensely varied, virgin land reaching into the remote north. Our whole country is cleansed by the pristine and replenishing air which sweeps out of that great hinterland."⁴⁵⁰ Whether the images were painted in Northern Ontario or the Rockies, they showed a uniformity of style and often a similarity in subject-matter, drawing these disparate geographic regions together as part of a single extended wilderness landscape. Reflecting an elite Anglophone perspective, the paintings showed wilderness as a place of recreation, rather than a site of productive labor or a permanent home. As Lynda Jessup explains, wilderness in the Group

⁴⁵⁰ Quoted in Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

of Seven's paintings "reflected a romantic notion of nature, which placed emphasis on solitude, privacy, and an intimate, semi-spiritual relationship with undisturbed natural beauty."⁴⁵¹ By recruiting the leading group of national artists, the railway sought to emphasize how Western landscapes opened by rail participated in a national culture.

The recreational landscape presented by the C.P.R. in its bungalow camp network assumed nationalistic value through a variety of means. Like the scenic wilderness associated with the resort hotels, the C.P.R.-led developments were created in affiliation with designated national parks. After the Parks Branch was established in 1912, the parks were increasingly promoted by the railways and federal government as locales for patriotic pride, to be achieved through active recreational engagement. During and following the First World War, the parks were also seen through the lens of an earlier sportsman's movement as training grounds for engendering a physically robust population. Moreover, they were presented as superior to national parks in the western United States, particularly in their quality as intact natural areas abundant with wildlife. The bungalow camp network played up these landscape qualities through its rustic design and informal site strategies, which emphasized integration with a landscape of lakes and woods, as well as programming that encouraged diverse audiences to undertake hiking and horseback riding excursions from and between camps. Immersion in a virgin landscape, complete with impromptu wildlife sightings, was promised by travel along the Banff-Windermere Highway, constructed as a scenic route through a newly designated national park corridor, in conjunction with several bungalow camps and built in part with C.P.R. funds. The virgin woodland scenery

⁴⁵¹ Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or The More Things Change...": 147.

promoted through the concept of recreational wilderness landscapes was given further legitimacy by the prominent Group of Seven, whose wilderness canvasses included scenes from the bungalow camps, incorporating them into a body of work that was seen as the first expression of a distinct national art.

Just after the C.P.R.'s bungalow camps peaked in popularity, the program went into decline.⁴⁵² During the depression of the 1930s, automobile vacationers turned increasingly to campgrounds as inexpensive holiday destinations, reducing the profitability of many roadside bungalow camps and prompting the C.P.R. to begin disposing of the least profitable locations, including Vermilion Crossing and Storm Mountain on the Banff-Windermere road. However, the railway continued to expand the guest accommodations at its more profitable camps: Emerald Lake, Wapta Lake, Yoho Valley, and Lake O'Hara. In the 1950s, in response to another shift in tourist tastes, the C.P.R. divested itself of virtually all of its remaining back-country facilities. In 1954, it sold its recreational holdings in Yoho National Park, including Yoho Valley Camp, Lake O'Hara Camp, and Wapta Lake Camp. It disposed of Emerald Lake Chalet last, in 1959.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² This parallels the trajectory of suburban bungalows, which boomed in the 1920s. With the depression, suburban development dramatically declined. Meanwhile, from being a term held in high esteem by the public, the common British word "bungalow" fell out of fashion and was displaced by the term "cottage" (used since the late nineteenth century in the United States to describe summer residence) or "house." King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, 148-49.

⁴⁵³ Mills, "The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks," 71.

Since that time, several of the camps have been dismantled, including those at Wapta Lake, Yoho Valley and Moraine Lake. However, the camps at Lake O'Hara, Emerald Lake, Storm Mountain, and Vermilion Crossing remain intact and in operation.⁴⁵⁴ New guest cabins have been added at some locations, while many of the original cabins and all of the lodges have been restored with their original designs intact. All four are operated as backwoods retreats that derive appeal from their rustic character. Lake O'Hara and Storm Mountain are promoted as being completely off the grid, while Emerald Lake Lodge boasts about its lack of cell phone reception. Recreation is still a highlight of trips to these camps: packages at Emerald Lake Lodge include packed day lunches and collapsible poles for hikers, while Lake O'Hara's winter rates include guiding fees and the loan of avalanche transceivers.

Driving up to Storm Mountain Camp on a research trip this fall felt like entering another era. Inside the lodge, a big wood fire crackled on the stone hearth as a gourmet, home-cooked lunch was served to visitors under the heavy timber rafters. Both the lodges and cabins had an air of solidity: the sturdy construction from nearly a century ago had held up to the present with a minimum of repairs. Inside a cabin, the atmosphere was dark and cozy, with wooden walls worn smooth and a quilt-covered bedstead. I left with the smell of wood smoke in my clothes and a determination to return.

The allure of vacationing in hand-hewn log cabins amid woods, lakes, and mountains has as much appeal in the present-day as it did a century ago. In the 1920s, as now, tourists sought to

⁴⁵⁴ In Ontario, the camp at Devil's Gap also remains in operation.

escape the frenzied pace of modern life by seeking immersive experiences in the Canadian Rockies. Key to these experiences was the perception of the surrounding landscapes as intact recreational wilderness settings where one might hike alongside pristine mountains, horseback ride in flourishing mountain valleys — and end each evening by a roaring fire in the isolated log cabin of a bungalow camp.

Chapter 5

A Primitive Wilderness: Banff Indian Days, 1911 - 1929

There in the Elk enclosure, along the banks of Whiskey Creek and under the shade of Cascade Mountain, grows up in an afternoon a picture that might have been common 50 or 100 years ago, but now can be seen only in Banff on Indian Days — a real old-time Indian teepee village of 100 or more lodges.⁴⁵⁵

Far from being untouched by human hands, the Western Canadian landscapes presented to early tourists and settlers as wilderness areas showed definite evidence of human inhabitation, in the form of hotels, farms, and bungalow camps, among other structures. However, promoters maintained the illusion that these landscapes had only recently been inhabited. At the turn of the century, tourists at national parks were encouraged to imagine themselves on newly civilized terrain, and through the early twentieth century, settlers were promised undisturbed, and therefore fertile land on the Prairies. Around the First World War, a different view of wilderness resulted in the valuation of parks permanently preserved apart from civilization. At bungalow camp, tourists were immersed in supposedly pristine forest settings that were protected for selected activities such as hiking, horseback riding, and motoring. Although requiring infrastructures such as trails and roads, these modes of engagement gave visitors the impression that they were discovering new, untrodden landscapes.

However, a seeming exception to the image of a newly discovered wilderness existed: Indians were often included in, and were in many cases integral to, the wilderness concept. Carved

⁴⁵⁵ Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 233, June 1, 1928, 38.

decorations for a 1927 addition to the Banff Springs Hotel included crouching bow-and-arrow wielding Indians, who lurked in the upper corners of the Lord Strathcona dining room [Figure 5-1], and buffalos placed along ceiling moldings in the reception hall. Bungalow camps also used Native imagery to add to their backwoods allure. The David Thompson Fort, opened in the summer of 1922 near Lake Windermere Camp, replicated a trading post complete with Indian craftwork on display. A tea room at Moraine Lake included a large display of Native artifacts [Figure 5-2]. Miniature totem poles, woven baskets, and a variety of beaded ornaments figured among the array of goods that tourists could peruse and purchase. A colorful carved thunderbird presided over the ensemble, flanked by miniature birch-bark canoes. The annual excursions organized by the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies used tipis instead of regular tents, and hosted nightly campfire gatherings known as “powwows.” In ready-made farm literature, the massive buffalo herds that once grazed the region and the migratory Indians who hunted them were invoked, testifying to the fertility of the Prairies that were able to sustain such life forms. Since the land naturally regenerated grasses and was never used for formal agriculture, it remained a fertile wilderness. Notably, both buffalo and Indians were firmly situated in the past. As one brochure explained, “With the extermination of the buffalo, the country was claimed by the rancher with his cattle that fed and fattened for market in this great pasture. Like the buffalo and the Indian, the rancher has had his day [...] to-day the valley is dotted with happy homes, surrounded by rich acres that are advancing in value yearly.”⁴⁵⁶ Indians once prospered on the wealth of the land; in the popular view, they were now doomed to extinction and their former territory was rightfully delivered to civilized farmers.

⁴⁵⁶ Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, *Facts Concerning the Bow River Valley*, 5.

Historically, First Nations had long inhabited the Canadian Rocky Mountain and Prairie regions.⁴⁵⁷ Dating back to the sixth century AD, vast tracts comprised hunting grounds, seasonal camps, and occasionally agricultural lands for various semi-nomadic Amerindian groups. For much of the period following first European contact in the seventeenth century, many of these groups remained relatively autonomous, although increasingly involved in trading relationships with the European newcomers. By the early twentieth century, with increasing settlement of Western Canada, most Natives had been forcibly removed to reserves under federal jurisdiction. The representations of breechcloth-clad savages in the ceilings of the Banff Springs Hotel were not portraits of contemporary First Nations, who contested their reserve allocations and continued to assert claims to the Rocky Mountains as part of their traditional hunting grounds, while wearing modern clothes and using the courts more than bows and arrows. Similarly, the goods for sale at Moraine Lake had a primitive appeal, celebrating old craft traditions that used natural materials. The Indians in Prairie legends were likewise symbols of a romantic past, associated with now-extirpated herds of wild buffalo. These portrayals suggested an image of Indians who had an intimate relationship with the natural world. Images of First Nations, often stereotypes conveying these easily recognizable ideas of “Indianness,” lent legitimacy to these regions as undeveloped, primitive wilderness areas.

⁴⁵⁷ I use the terms “First Nations,” “Native,” and “Amerindian” interchangeably. The term “Indian” is employed in cases that refer to the perceptions of First Nations people in popular culture.

The association of Indians with natural environments has a long history. As historian Paige Raibmon explains, the linking of Aboriginal peoples to nature can be traced back to the development of natural history as a discipline, and was prevalent in the late nineteenth century. “Many nineteenth-century Americans and Canadians understood Aboriginal people to be a part of, rather than separate from, nature,” writes Raibmon. “The late-nineteenth century wilderness ideal could not admit the presence of independent, self-sufficient, Aboriginal communities, but it tolerated and even drew strength from the presence of supposedly traditional and apparently vanishing Indians.”⁴⁵⁸ This view had political and economic ramifications. Drawing from the Lockean tradition, Canadian authorities awarded ownership of land to those who, in principle, removed it from a “state of nature” and improved it. Colonists thus overlooked the different agriculture and silviculture practices of indigenous peoples, in order to characterize the landscape as “in a state of nature” and thus available for settlement and ownership.⁴⁵⁹

In his essay “The Necessity for Ruins,” landscape historian John Brinckerhoff Jackson distinguishes between two types of monuments. Some — such as a statue to George Washington or Civil War grave — commemorate specific people and events, acting as reminders of political covenants and shared struggles. However, others — for example, the monument to an anonymous cowboy or newsboy — attempt to commemorate a vague sense of a past golden age,

⁴⁵⁸ Paige Sylvia Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 128.

⁴⁵⁹ John S. Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 34.

hovering just beyond living memory.⁴⁶⁰ The Indians in the Canadian Rockies and Prairies — living as well as legendary — were frequently cast as monuments of the second type, and associated with a distant past in which natural environments were intact. Nineteenth-century Europeans often simplistically reduced North American First Nations to two principal stereotypes: what Samuel Krech III and others have dubbed the romanticized “Noble Savage” and the menacing “Ignoble Savage.” The first drew on benign associations, emphasizing the vigorous strength and morality of the nature-dwelling Native. The second highlighted the cannibalistic, bloodthirsty, inhuman aspects of savage life. Often, elements from the two stereotypes were combined in a single portrayal. In different ways, both attitudes associated First Nations with a prehistoric wilderness setting.

As Krech points out, the label *savage*, which English-speaking people used for North American Indians for centuries, derives from *silvaticus* (Latin), cognates *sauvage* (French), *salvage* (Spanish), *selvaggio* (Italian), and the related forms *silva*, *selva*, and *sylvan* — which have woodland, wooded, forest, and wild among principal meanings.⁴⁶¹ The presence of supposedly traditional Indians, whether savages or noble savages, bolstered an idea of the Prairies and Rockies as a “primitive wilderness” — a landscape that was itself a remnant from a legendary, half-forgotten past. This image of a golden age, in which Indians lived in the bosom of nature, placed these natural settings in a semi-mythical era. Through this lens these environments were

⁴⁶⁰ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980).

⁴⁶¹ Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 16-17.

seen as a timeless expanse, rather than a series of specific places impacted by datable events. Because of this, living Natives were put in a paradoxical situation: they were asked to act as carriers and living symbols of an ahistorical past, yet by doing so, their real living conditions in the present were obscured. At times, Natives were seen as an integral part of a threatened natural world that was being tragically, but inevitably, extinguished by civilization. At others, it seemed that Native traditions from this distant past, like the national parks, deserved preservation as romantic artifacts apart from the modern world. Both attitudes evidenced a vision of a primitive wilderness, where the environment and its Native inhabitants belonged to an unchanging past, rather than being part of an ongoing history marked by political events, policies, and possibilities for cultural adaptation.

In Western Canada, one of the most prominent displays of Natives as part of a primitive wilderness took place during the annual Banff Indian Days [Figure 1-15]. The one-to-four-day-long summer festival began in the late nineteenth century. In the period under study, 1907 to 1929, the fair reached an established form that would remain substantially unchanged for decades to follow. During the C.P.R.-sponsored event, the local First Nations tribe was invited to set up a tipi camp at the edge of town, host sporting events, and parade in regalia through town to the Banff Springs Hotel. Many of these activities had a spatial character: they engaged with built and natural spaces in a prescribed manner, occupied specific sites in the Banff region, and were commemorated by temporary and permanent landmarks. Over time, audiences and First Nations actors developed particular relationships to spaces around Banff. In activities situated near the tipi camp, audiences saw the Indians as “in place,” whereas in town and near the Banff Springs Hotel, they were seen as “out of place.” By using spatial cues to position Indians in the ancient

past, the rituals of the annual event began to invent a non-threatening, ancient history for the broader region.

The C.P.R. was a principal — though not the sole — sponsor of Banff Indian Days. Special C.P.R. excursion trains served the event, the main organization of which was undertaken by a group of Banff businessmen. However, when seen through the lens of spatial analysis, certain elements of Banff Indian Days may be read as continuations and elaborations of C.P.R. initiatives discussed earlier in this study. In the parade, the Banff Springs Hotel acted symbolically as the apogee of civilization — a role assigned to it by the railway company since its establishment as a resort in 1887. As a counterpoint to the hotel, the tipi camp boasted structures that in their construction recalled the deliberately simplistic log cabin designs for the C.P.R.'s bungalow camps. Like the bungalow camps, which were stylized rather than being purely utilitarian, the tipis were decorated by paintings, making them aesthetically appealing additions to the landscape. Finally, the presence of wildlife was carefully orchestrated during the resort hotel heyday and the bungalow camp boom; this was also the case throughout the Banff Indian Days proceedings. Wildlife, associated with the “wild” Indians, was strategically positioned in relationship to the Indians during games and the distribution of rations. Through these important spatial tools, the idea of a primitive wilderness was manifested in Banff Indian Days, in a manner that drew on and added to wilderness ideas already present in Western Canada.

First Nations in the Canadian Rockies

Before European explorers, fur traders, and railway surveyors arrived in the West, Amerindian tribes lived across both the Rockies and Western Prairies, subsisting on the seasonal buffalo hunt along with other hunting and gathering activities.⁴⁶² As fur traders made inroads in the late eighteenth century, First Nations expanded their economic sphere, exchanging animal skins and wild meat for trade goods. These tribes and their region's natural resources came under increased pressure with the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company territories to the new confederation of Canada in 1871. Agricultural settlers arrived in increasing numbers in the wake of the annexation, claiming land and requiring wild animal meat, often procured by Aboriginal hunters, for survival.⁴⁶³

One of the groups affected by these changes was the Nakoda or Stoney Indians, comprised of three bands that dwelt in the eastern Rocky Mountain foothills.⁴⁶⁴ They used the lower slopes of the mountains, including the present-day area of Banff, as their hunting grounds. Besides

⁴⁶² I use the terms buffalo and bison interchangeably. Biologists point out that true buffaloes are native to Asia and Africa, and that the popular name "buffalo" is a misnomer in referring to the North American *Bison bison*. However, it is also longstanding and was commonly used throughout the period under study.

⁴⁶³ Wild meat remained a staple of Western diets even after settlements were well established in Western Canada. See Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940*, 14-37, 75-92.

⁴⁶⁴ The tribe is now known as the Nakoda, named after its language, one of three known Sioux dialects. Sometime before 1640, the Nakoda split from the main Sioux tribe and migrated north to the Lake Superior region, then in alliance with the Cree First Nations, began moving westward. They are also known as a branch of the Assiniboine, from the Ojibwe name Asniibwaan ("Stone Sioux") or Stoney. These names refer to the practice of using hot stones placed in water to heat water for cooking, a common phenomenon among First Nations before metal cooking pots were introduced through trading.

capturing bison on the Prairies, the Nakoda hunted moose, deer, elk, mountain goat, bighorn sheep, and mountain lion, trapped porcupines, rabbits, marmots, and other small game animals, and fished the lakes and streams in the region. They also gathered wild fruits and vegetables from the territory, including berries, mushrooms, bulrush roots, lily bulbs, wild carrots, and wild onions.⁴⁶⁵ Along with other southern plains tribes, in the late nineteenth century the Nakoda saw populations of wild animals decline with overhunting, and formerly abundant bison herds disappear from Prairie ranges. Partly in response to the decimation of these food sources, the Nakoda joined other tribes in signing treaties that gave their traditional territory over to new settlers, in exchange for residence on reserved land and promises of support by the Dominion.

The three bands comprising the Nakoda signed Treaty No. 7 in 1877, at which time a single reserve was set aside for them along the Bow River at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, near the mission site of Morleyville [Figure 5-3].⁴⁶⁶ Initially, the majority of Natives in the three tribes agreed to use Morley as a base camp, while continuing their traditional lifestyle based on hunting, supplemented with goods obtained from trading posts. By the turn of the century, the

⁴⁶⁵ Hugh Aylmer Dempsey, *Indians of the Rocky Mountain Parks* (Calgary: Fifth House Publishers, 1998), 14.

⁴⁶⁶ Anthony Hall, "Indian Treaties," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2010), <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>, "Nakoda Nation," Heritage Community Foundation, http://www.albertasource.ca/treaty7/traditional/nakoda_overview.html. Accessed May 17, 2010. Several misunderstandings characterized the allocation of the Stoney Reserve. Important among these, only Chief Chinquay was present during the surveys; the surveyors believed he was representing the entire tribe rather than only his band. The Chinquay band had traditionally wintered near Morley. The designated territory did not account for the traditional lands of the bands under Chiefs Bearspaw and Chief Jacob Goodstoney, the latter of which traditionally camped on the Kootenay Plains, on the other side of the Rocky Mountain range. John Snow, *These Mountains are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians* (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1977), 28-48.

land surrounding Morleyville had become a permanent home for many of the Stoney.⁴⁶⁷ In part, this was due to the institution of game laws that restricted Stoney hunting grounds, following the creation of the Rocky Mountains Forest Reserve in 1909. In historian Tina Loo's analysis, these new game laws acted as "instruments of colonization" that imposed an urban, bourgeois sensibility about wildlife on Native and rural populations. Wild meat was linked to primitiveness, and therefore in an attempt to "civilize" the First Nations, Indian policy sought to limit their use of wildlife for food.⁴⁶⁸

As these regulations were implemented, Stoney were encouraged to replace semi-nomadic hunting with sedentary agriculture. The rocky soil of the Morley reserve was unsuitable for crops, but cattle could be raised with more success. By 1910, there were 10 farmers and 65 ranchers at Morley.⁴⁶⁹ Others sought employment at the Ozada mine or the Eau Claire Lumber Co. saw mill, both located on the reserve, or were employed cutting and hauling firewood for the nearby Kananaskis and Exshaw lime kilns. The manufacture of Stoney cultural artifacts was

⁴⁶⁷ Around 1894, Peter Wesley led about one hundred members of Jacob's Band up to the Kootenay Plains north of Banff to reclaim their ancestral lands and practice their traditional hunting lifestyle. According to census data, a population of 670 members from the three bands lived on the reserve in 1917. Snow, *These Mountains are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians*, 63-65, Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945".

⁴⁶⁸ Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, 40, 46-47. Other signs of primitiveness were also suppressed, including the key cultural practice of the potlatch, perceived as a pagan ritual and deemed illegal from 1884 until the mid-twentieth century. Traveling restrictions designed to restrict traditional gatherings required Natives to obtain passes in order to leave reserves. Even though these were not in all cases strictly enforced, the regulation nonetheless added to the difficulties of leaving for hunting excursions.

⁴⁶⁹ Notzke, Claudia. *The Development of Canadian Indian Reserves as Illustrated by the Example of the Stoney and Peigan Reserves*. PhD, University of Calgary, 1982, 38.

another source of income, in which women could readily participate. Entrepreneur Norman Luxton acquired and commissioned Native crafts through his Morley Trading Company post and for his Sign of the Goat curio shop in Banff. As an extension of this work, Luxton would play a key role in organizing Banff Indian Days.⁴⁷⁰

Banff Indian Days

The turn-of-the-century shift in Stoney livelihood from subsistence hunting to participation in a market-based economy coincided with the growth of Banff Indian Days. The festival's popularity also reflected an increased presence of First Nations in mainstream culture — what art historian Elizabeth Hutchinson has called, in reference to a widespread interest in Native American artifacts in the United States, “the Indian craze.”⁴⁷¹ In Canada, First Nations artifacts were collected by museums, while Natives appeared in popular novels, on the silver screen, and in Wild West performances inspired by Buffalo Bill Cody.⁴⁷² While Banff Indian Days initially began as a casual event, during the first decades of the twentieth century they became more complex, orchestrated festivals that borrowed from a wide network of cultural influences. Ironically, as the tribe's daily life on the reserve became increasingly entangled with modern industry and economies, these performances of their traditional culture grew progressively more elaborate.

⁴⁷⁰ For a more complete account of the relationship between Norman Luxton and the Stoneys, see Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945".

⁴⁷¹ Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 3.

⁴⁷² Much crossover existed between the ways that American and Canadian Natives were presented in popular culture. For the Canadian case, see Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992).

The origins of Banff Indian Days have taken on the status of local legend. According to the most widespread story, the festival originated in one of the years 1889, 1894, or 1897, when the flooding Bow River washed out several miles of railway track leading to Banff, leaving tourists stranded at the Banff Springs Hotel. On the behest of hotel manager W.L. Matthews, outfitter and guide Tom Wilson traveled to the Morley reserve, where he convinced a group of Stoney Indians to ride to Banff and entertain hotel guests. The Indians stayed for a week, and the resulting first “Indian Days” were a success.⁴⁷³ A less dramatic but perhaps more likely version of the tale, recounted by Banff merchant Dave White, suggests that Banff Days grew from informal sporting days, celebrated by the community on Queen Victoria and Dominion Days since the 1890s. According to White, Stoney men, women and children would occasionally join in competitions with Banff equestrians. By 1902, whole First Nations families arrived and camped at their traditional campsite near Minnehappa, the waterfall on Cascade Mountain, in order to participate.⁴⁷⁴ While the first story reflects a romantic view of Indians as a ready source of entertainment for high-class hotel guests, the second suggests a more egalitarian view of

⁴⁷³ Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 57. Norman Luxton Papers, Glenbow Archives, Luxton-Weadick correspondence, file 145. The popular story is repeated in many articles on the Banff Indian Days, and corroborated in a memo by Tom Wilson to the C.P.R.: “I also started Indian Day [sic] during the big floods in June 1894, and kept it up for seven years alone at a price to myself; It was such a success, that a committee was formed and carried it on the present.” Tom Wilson, “A Short History of the Early Work in Developing the Resorts and Tourist Trade in the Canadian Pacific Rockies,” memo, June 1933, p. 7. CP Archives.

⁴⁷⁴ This story derives from an interview in 1938. In the same interview, Dave White charges Tom Wilson with fabricating his version of the story for his own self-promotion — a distinct possibility given the ambiguity of the flood and festival’s origin date. Jon Whyte, *Indians in the Rockies* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1985), 72.

Indians as peers to local, non-Indian residents. Unsurprisingly, the first story was the one consistently related in promotional material for Banff Indian Days once the event became more broadly publicized in the early twentieth century. In line with the idea of Indians and wilderness as semi-mythical entities, this story gave Indian Days a dramatic origin myth. In addition, it clearly established the Indians as performers and hotel guests as privileged spectators — a hierarchy that would be maintained in the established form of Indian Days.

Whatever its origins, the festival did not become an annual event until 1907, when the C.P.R. and local businesses began sponsoring it. This was accomplished through the leadership of a committee headed by Banff businessmen, including Norman Luxton and Jim Brewster, who operated a transportation concession in the park.⁴⁷⁵ The committee canvassed for contributions from Banff merchants, who benefited from increased tourism stemming from the event. The C.P.R. would profit from both rail and hotel traffic, and was noted as an especially generous contributor, with the Banff Springs Hotel subscribing \$100 to the fund in 1916.⁴⁷⁶ This funding model persisted with apparent success through 1930, when it was reported that the “business men of Banff, and the C.P.R. make donations towards the cost of feeding the Indians while en route to and from and during their three day visit in Banff; this alone is no small or inexpensive contract.”⁴⁷⁷ Luxton was an important mediator in the process. He encouraged Indians to

⁴⁷⁵ The original committee consisted of Banff promoters and entrepreneurs Norman Luxton, Dave White, Jim Brewster, Sam Armstrong, and Tom Wilson. See Aileen Harmon, "Began When Hotel Guests Were Isolated," *Calgary Herald*, July 16 1938.

⁴⁷⁶ "26th Annual Indian Day," *Crag & Canyon*, June 1 1916.

⁴⁷⁷ "Stony Indians, Gay, Colorful, Please Banff," *The Albertan* 1930.

participate in the event, helped them obtain permission to leave the reserve and by the 1920s, negotiated compensation for their attendance in a combination of rations and cash.⁴⁷⁸

As interest by businessmen and attendance by visitors grew, the events themselves became increasingly elaborate. In 1911, the first year for which a full account is available, the program was a one-day event — “Banff Indian Day” — that opened with a parade, continued with an afternoon of foot and horse races, and ended with a “Pow-wow and some Indian dances.” That year’s event included sports that were not strictly Native in character, such as a planned football match that, regrettably, “did not come off,” perhaps because there was not enough time before sunset.⁴⁷⁹ This account suggests that the Indian Day was linked to local sporting events, and points to longstanding informal links between settler and Native communities, corroborating Dave White’s account of the event’s origins.

In 1916, the “Indian Day” was a three-day affair, with a parade, sports, and races held on Friday, July 14, and Saturday, July 15, and religious services conducted in the Stoney language on Sunday morning, with interpreters for visitors.⁴⁸⁰ The C.P.R. ran a special train between Calgary

⁴⁷⁸ Drees, “Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945”, 68-70.

⁴⁷⁹ “Banff Indian Day: A Successful Fete,” *Crag & Canyon*, July 22 1911.

⁴⁸⁰ Since programs were not available for the period 1911-1915, it is not clear in which year Banff Indian Days grew beyond a 1-day festival. It is possible that the program was expanded during the war years to cater to the increased tourism within North America during the conflict on European soil.

and Banff on Saturday, when most of the events were scheduled to occur.⁴⁸¹ At the two-day celebration in 1917, parades were scheduled for both event days instead of only occurring once at the opening.⁴⁸² By 1922, if not earlier, prizes were given not only for sports, but also for the “best Native costumes” [Figure 5-4].⁴⁸³ Live buffaloes were donated by the Canadian Government to be killed for food in 1926, an event that would be repeated with variations in subsequent years.⁴⁸⁴

By 1929, the annual celebration was a well-known success. Several features of Banff Indian Days had become associated with particular locations within the area by that time. Each year, the Indians erected a tipi camp at their traditional campsite by Minnehappa (Cascade) Falls, near a former racetrack at the eastern edge of town. The festival included a daily parade of Indians in full ceremonial regalia, which departed from the campsite, proceeded through the main avenue of town, and finished in the courtyard of the Banff Springs Hotel. Races and rodeo events, along with the public carving and distribution of buffalo meat, occurred adjacent to or within the campground. These events amounted to annual rituals, associated with specific actors, actions and places. How would spectators have perceived these events, and in particular the relationships between these events, the Indians who enacted them, and their landscape setting? Before

⁴⁸¹ "26th Annual Indian Day."

⁴⁸² "Indian Day Sports at Banff Draw Flocks of Interested Tourists," *Calgary Herald*, July 23 1917.

⁴⁸³ Program from Banff Indian Days, 1922. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, SKMBT_C35110071315232

⁴⁸⁴ "Canadian Indians Hunt Buffalo with Flivver," *New York Times*, August 15 1926.

embarking on this inquiry, it is necessary to first consider the broader cultural context of Banff Indian Days.

The Noble and the Ignoble Savage in Western Canada

In Western Canada, views of Indians were closely related to the perception of landscapes with which they were associated. To some extent, this served a practical agenda: as settlers sought to claim the plains as agricultural land, Indians often were denigrated as “ignoble savages”: backwards, ignorant and unsophisticated peoples who could not properly manage their own lands. This characterization justified a paternalistic policy of reform. Just as certain landscapes perceived as wilderness were valued for their receptivity to the civilizing forces of picturesque tourism and agriculture, the Natives that inhabited them simultaneously became targets of “improvement” strategies.

On the other hand, the impulse for immersion in natural environments as a relief from overcivilization, manifest during the bungalow camp boom, became associated with the “noble savage,” who embodied a pure, idyllic life in nature. Late nineteenth century tourists to Northern Ontario had adopted this view of Natives. These tourists held romantic images of hired local guides, who they expected to be “thoroughly wild and unspoiled Indian[s],” with attendant expertise in navigating through the woods and tracking wildlife.⁴⁸⁵ In the early twentieth century, one of the most influential writers to capture this image was Ontario-born Ernest Thomas Seton,

⁴⁸⁵ Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, 133-49.

the first Chief Scout of the Boy Scouts and a charismatic naturalist, artist, conservationist, and writer. Seton sought to instill boys with values of manhood, which he believed were exemplified in traditional Indian life, through Amerindian-inspired woodcraft and outdoor camping exercises. Drawing from the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, he saw Natives as dignified, firm, wise, and thrifty; figures who held land, animals, and all property in common. As historian Phil Deloria notes, Seton's Indians "represented positive qualities — authenticity and natural purity"⁴⁸⁶ that might be emulated by non-Native youth as the underpinning for a new, modern identity.

In Western Canada, Indians were presented — and presented themselves — in ways that alternated between the stereotypes of "Noble" and "Ignoble." This is particularly apparent in cases where Canadian First Nations groups interpreted their culture for the entertainment of non-Native audiences. This practice had parallels with Indian performances in the United States. By the early twentieth century, Natives in America had developed a circuit of intertribal gatherings that grew from longstanding traditions of dances and gatherings.⁴⁸⁷ Distinct from these all-Native meetings, Indians also were involved in a range of presentations of their culture for non-Natives. First Nations sat for white painters like George Catlin in the 1830s and 1840s, and white photographers like Edward S. Curtis, who published more than 22,000 images of Native people in *The North American Indian* in 1907. Pawnee and Lakotas actively staged Indian culture in Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show (which traveled to Toronto in 1885), reenacting Indian

⁴⁸⁶ Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 103.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

wars from the American West. Indians also were employed in ethnographic displays at World's Fairs, including the St. Louis Fair of 1904, where Native craftspeople lived in a makeshift village, making and selling crafts. In an instance closely tied to railroad tourism, in 1905 the Fred Harvey Company, which owned and operated hotels along the Sante Fe Railroad lines, promoted Natives as a tourist attraction. The company hired Indian craftspeople to staff Hopi House, a replica traditional dwelling, as a living museum of Southwest Indian life.

As architectural historian Abigail van Slyck has pointed out, whatever reasons they may have had for participating in these displays, the stories that Natives enacted in spectacles such as Wild West shows reinforced primitive stereotypes and contributed to a larger ideological project of naturalizing the white conquest of their lands.⁴⁸⁸ Canada had a comparatively less violent history of occupation, but nonetheless, its Amerindians were politically and culturally subordinated.⁴⁸⁹ First Nations actors nurtured a romanticized vision of Indian culture north of the 49th parallel through similar performances to those of their counterparts south of the border. In doing so, they participated in what Paige Raibmon has described as “the manufacture of authenticity,” validating an antimodernist fascination with primitive cultures. As Raibmon notes, this sense of authenticity was not a stable yardstick against which to measure “the real thing,” but rather a

⁴⁸⁸ Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960*, 170-71.

⁴⁸⁹ John Sutton Lutz aptly describes this process as “peaceable subordination.” “Here, the dispossession of Aboriginal Peoples was cloaked in terms of incorporation, of bringing them into “a new order of things” with the benefits of Christianity, civilization, and the rule of British law[...] Peaceable colonization was closer to liberalism than was outright conquest, but subordination was, nonetheless, the goal.” Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*, 24.

shifting set of ideas that for non-Aboriginals, was often steeped in imperial nostalgia.⁴⁹⁰ By performing for white audiences and meeting their expectations by presenting antimodern primitive spectacles, Indian participants in Banff Indian Days assisted in a process by which their culture was gradually codified into an “authentic” set of traditions. The designation of Indian culture as a part of a traditional past, rather than a living and changing culture within the present, was part and parcel of the eventual cultural assimilation of Canadian Indians within the broader polity.

Like Edward Curtis, Canadian artists such as Paul Kane, Frederick Verner, Edmund Morris, and Emily Carr, along with American artist Langdon Kihn, depicted highly costumed Indians in Canada through the turn of the century [Figure 5-5].⁴⁹¹ As historian Daniel Francis describes, these painted images were in part driven by a sense of mission to capture the remnants of a disappearing culture, and as a result turned a blind eye to evidence of Native adaptation to contemporary civilization. “Often the result was an idealized image of the Indian based on what the artist imagined Aboriginal life to have been before contact,”⁴⁹² Francis writes. The backdrops of these images are typically either neutral, earth-toned backgrounds that give portraits a timeless

⁴⁹⁰Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, 5-14.

⁴⁹¹ For an analysis of works by American artist Langdon Kihn, who was hired by the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railway to work with ethnologist Marius Barbeau in producing images of the Stoney and Gitskan, see Leslie Allan Dawn, *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006). Emily Carr

⁴⁹² Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 24.

setting, or images of premodern Indian life, with figures engaged in activities such as snowshoeing, buffalo-hunting, or pitching a tipi camp.

These sometimes-fanciful images of Noble Savages in turn fed the appetite of railway travelers who sought to see Indians in their natural setting before they “disappeared.” The 1887 C.P.R. booklet, *New Highway to the East*, included descriptions of a settlement with “Indians in blankets of brilliant colors; hundreds of ponies feeding in the rich grasses; a line of graceful trees in the background, seemingly more beautiful than ever because of their rarity — all making, with the dark Cypress hills rising in the distance, a picture most novel and striking.” The text later sketches an image of the Blackfeet, “the most handsome and warlike of all the Indian tribes,” who were “once dreaded,” but “now peacefully settled on a reservation near by.”⁴⁹³ Like the natural environments they inhabited, Natives as “noble savages” preserved an appealingly romantic appearance and were often attributed the strength of warriors — although commentators hastened to reassure readers that the Amerindians were no longer threatening.

At other times, Natives were depicted with a greater accent on their “ignoble” nature. This was particularly the case in the Prairies, where settlers sought to claim what were once Native buffalo hunting grounds for agriculture. The illustrated volume *Picturesque Canada* offers an extreme example of this attitude. “The Indians of Manitoba are gradually disappearing before the stronger races,” it declared. “Bred and reared in poverty and dirt, and having generally the taint of

⁴⁹³ Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the East, Across the Mountains, Prairies & Rivers of Canada*, 29-31.

hereditary disease, they are as a rule short-lived.”⁴⁹⁴ Several examples of C.P.R. railway literature rendered Indians as backwards and squalid, albeit with tinges of romantic color, and attractive in the same manner that views of rural poverty were sometimes considered picturesque.⁴⁹⁵ A photographic portfolio issued by the C.P.R. in 1890, in a series entitled “Glimpses along the CP Railway,” is typical. Entitled “Indian Series A,” the dozen images are mostly taken from a Blackfoot camp near Gleichen. Some figures pose in buckskins and beadwork outside of their moosehide-and-wood dwellings — a spectacle of barbaric grandeur. Others are huddled in striped Hudson’s Bay Company blankets. One image, entitled “A Cree Family at Home,” shows a Cree man with a pipe squatting by a well-worn tipi [Figure 5-6]. A girl in patchwork clothing stands beside him, while a woman with bedraggled hair sits nearby with another child. None of the faces are clearly visible — the man’s eyes are turned down towards his pipe, and the other faces are obscured by hair, with the eye sockets cast in shadow. This lack of eye contact objectifies the figures, depriving them of a sense of human individuality. A dog lies beside the tipi, and in the distance, horses graze on scrubby grass that extends to the horizon. The composition’s slightly elevated viewpoint places the photographer and reader in a position of subtle superiority over these primitive-looking figures, whose way of life is clearly out of step with modern times. Because of this incongruity, these Indians would be easily seen, along with their apparently desolate landscape, as compelling objects for reform. The view

⁴⁹⁴ Grant and O'Brien, *Picturesque Canada: The Country as it was and is*, 301.

⁴⁹⁵ The eighteenth century picturesque valued objects that showed signs of wear and irregularity, including decaying objects. See Wolfgang Kemp and Joyce Rheuban, "Images of Decay: Photography in the Picturesque Tradition," *October* 54, no. 3 (1990): 104-05.

presented echoes the way Puget Sound tourists saw Aboriginal seasonal laborers in the hop fields, as “pathetic as well as picturesque.”⁴⁹⁶

Early railway travelers’ accounts of Indians similarly noted their poverty and primitive aesthetic taste, if at the same time imbuing them appeal. Dean Carmichael reported on the “real live Indian men, women and children (Crees)” that he encountered on a railway platform at Maple Creek. “The men were painted lavishly, vermilion and brick-colored faces, toned down with blue and yellow streaks. The women were remarkable for brilliant blankets, and some of the girls had large slabs of mother-of-pearl hanging from their ears.” Along with the splendid, quasi-barbaric spectacle of painted faces and crude jewelry, he remarked dismissively on their silent demeanor: “they might as well have been inmates of a deaf and dumb asylum.” Unadapted to the conventions of modern society, the Crees did not hawk the polished buffalo horns they had for sale, but rather waited for travelers to open negotiations. “I should not think that the Crees would make good commercial travelers,” Carmichael concluded.⁴⁹⁷

Invoked frequently in these accounts, the picturesque aesthetic is problematic as a way of describing living human subjects. At its core, the picturesque is a didactic principle, identifying specific aesthetic conditions that were to be learned and admired.⁴⁹⁸ As such, it encouraged an objectification of subjects, reducing them to a picture to be judged according to its aesthetic

⁴⁹⁶ *Seattle Mail and Herald*, October 6, 1906, 5.

⁴⁹⁷ Carmichael, *A Holiday Trip, Montreal to Victoria and Return, Via the Canadian Pacific Railway. Midsummer, 1888*, 12.

⁴⁹⁸ Kemp and Rheuban, “Images of Decay: Photography in the Picturesque Tradition,” 108.

merits. Moreover, in its formulation the picturesque valued certain antimodern views of poverty for their irregularities and signs of wear, which communicated the passage of time. As such, it at times encouraged a positive valuation of such qualities in Canadian Indians as primitiveness, reinforcing the stereotype of “savage” Indians.

The somewhat fickle nature of aesthetic judgment according to picturesque criteria is evident in the writings of British traveler Edward Roper, who described the Indians he saw at the same rail station as Carmichael, a few years later in 1891. “They were generally squatting around the neighbourhood of the track, gazing stolidly at the train, and taking little notice, it appeared to me, of what they saw [...] they seemed so perfectly listless. Many of them were partly civilized in dress, though ragged and dirty, and there was very little of the picturesque about them.” Curious to find out more, Roper asked his fellow travelers about the Natives. “The Canadians seemed to regard them as a race of animals which were neither benefit nor harm to anyone, mentioning that they were surely dying out, and that when they were all gone it would be a good thing,” he reported.⁴⁹⁹ In contrast, he encountered a “most picturesque band of Crowfoot Indians” further along on his journey. The latter Amerindians, he noted, were quite “wild” since they had “but lately ‘come in,’ that is, had given up their roving life, and agreed to settle on the Reserve.” To Roper’s eyes, this quality of wildness made them more authentic, and thus more pleasant to look at, than their Blackfoot counterparts. “To my mind, they looked, in all their savageness, in their paint and feathers, with their really happy faces, and I thought, clean appearance, miles ahead in

⁴⁹⁹ Roper, *By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada*, 118.

refinement to the ‘tame Injuns’ we had lately seen at Maple Creek,” he wrote.⁵⁰⁰ Using the picturesque as a principal means of formulating and justifying his opinion, Roper concluded that the “wild” Crowfeet were closer in character to the “ideal Red Indian” — the noble savage he had expected to see in Western Canada. His tone of nostalgia suggested that as the Indians were “domesticated” on reserves, they lost their appeal as figures of the “wild.” On the reserves, both the Blackfeet and Crowfeet were bound to disappear in time. As commentator Mercer Adam wrote with a similar tone of nostalgia, “With the vanishing of the large game and the inswarming of the white man, how soon, we ask ourselves, may not the red man go? In his case, too, domestication seems a failure [...] As a ward of the nation he may linger for a while, but his fate, we fear, like that of the buffalo, is to disappear.”⁵⁰¹

Train tourists saw Indians as either the proud or ragged remnants of a rapidly disappearing Indian culture. And yet, the intrusion of the train and its opening of land to tourism and settlement propelled this process of disappearance. Furthermore, government policies designed to assimilate First Nations groups deliberately accelerated the cultural loss. For instance, on the West Coast, a federal potlatch ban and prohibition on erecting totem poles were effective from 1885 to 1951. On the Prairies and in the Rocky Mountain region, Indian children were forcibly removed to residential schools, religious ceremonies and dances banned, and local authority displaced from traditional tribal leaders to government representatives. Tellingly, at the same time that the Federal Department of Indian Affairs was prohibiting practices tied to the

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 119.

⁵⁰¹ Mercer Adam, *Canada, from Sea to Sea: Historical and Descriptive* (Toronto: W. Bryce, 1889), 44.

production of new cultural artifacts, older Indian relics were being collected and preserved in museums. As contemporary production was curtailed and craft skills were lost, existing objects became more rare and thus more valuable. Since the late nineteenth century, collectors for museums including the Smithsonian in Washington, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and Chicago's Field Museum had been dispatched to locate and purchase artifacts from Native communities in Northwest Canada. In what historian Douglas Cole describes as a "scramble" to compile the largest and best collections, these agents had almost completely pillaged coastal villages in British Columbia of their cultural artifacts by the dawn of the First World War.⁵⁰² Canadian museums were relative latecomers to the process: the federal government began acquiring Northwest artifacts after creating a division of anthropology within the geological survey in 1910, at which time a small geological survey museum was expanded into the much larger Victoria Memorial Museum on the outskirts of downtown Ottawa. A climate of urgency prevailed.

The Canadian government was competing with foreign institutions for heritage items, and also believed that the Indian people who created the artifacts would soon be gone.⁵⁰³ Smaller institutions, including newly created local museums in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and British Columbia, had a similar outlook. In 1909, Banff Museum curator N.B. Sanson remarked that "any addition to the Indian collection would be money well invested, as the day for procuring these things will soon be past."⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*.

⁵⁰³ Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 104.

⁵⁰⁴ Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Department of the Interior, Commission of Dominion Parks," *Sessional Papers* (1910): 20.

The popular association of Natives with certain types of artifacts is evident in the stock commissioned by promoter Norman Luxton for his Banff museum and curio shop, Sign of the Goat. Luxton encouraged local Stoney and Sarcee tribes to manufacture a variety of items for sale including headdresses, shirts, belts, gauntlets, saddlebags, moccasins, rattles, spears, and bows and arrows. While the Wild West associations of artifacts such as horse gear privileged the Stoneys, other artifacts were less culturally accurate. As historian Laurie Mejer Drees has documented, Luxton not only asked the Stoneys and Sarcees to mass-produce their traditional bead- and leather-work, but also introduced new craft items such as miniature totem poles and small, carved animals.⁵⁰⁵ Even though totem poles were associated with Northwest coast tribes, who along with the Inuit may have created carved animals, the miniature versions would have been understood as non-geographically specific symbols representing authentic “Indianness.” While this type of exchange gave the Stoneys and Sarcees opportunities to continue some of their traditional crafts, the changed context affected the quantities and qualities of the resulting pieces.

Similar complexities arose when Indians presented themselves as living artifacts in events such as Banff Indian Days. During the annual event, a view of the Indian as a stereotyped mixture of noble and ignoble savage was contrived, which differed in many ways from the tribe’s historical traditions. The portrayal of Indians masked cultural differences between the Nakoda and other indigenous groups, as well as divergences between the three tribes that comprised the reserve.

⁵⁰⁵ Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 38-41.

While first projected by promoters, these stereotypes to some extent became embedded in how Stoneys self-fashioned themselves for the annual festival.⁵⁰⁶

Differentiating between cultural change motivated by pressures from outside of a group and change initiated from within a group as a response to intercultural exchange is an impossible task. No culture conforms to an unchanging set of itemized traits, and adaptation is characteristic of all living cultures. The Stoneys were no exception: while they participated in popularizing an image of stereotypical Indians for Banff audiences, they were simultaneously re-crafting their own traditions through annual repetition. Moreover, as much as it imposed an inappropriate set of norms on the tribe, Indian Days also allowed Stoneys to perpetuate cultural practices in ways that were not possible under the government's strict rules for the reserve. Native historian Laurie Meijer Drees has observed that "the tourist response to Indian culture was essentially positive, and [...] the Indians themselves reveled in the [Banff Indian Days] events as much as the tourist."⁵⁰⁷ The agency of the actors must be acknowledged. Raibmon's observations of West Coast Natives applies equally to the Stoneys: "Aboriginal people were not subsumed by stereotypes, but nor did they entirely eschew them."⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁶ Other indigenous groups have similarly appropriated primordial stereotypes. See Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*, 27.

⁵⁰⁷ Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 80. Also see ———, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945". Arguably, this continues to be the case today.

⁵⁰⁸ Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, 12-13.

In applying an architectural and spatial lens to Indian Days, various cultural changes in comparison to traditional Stoney practices come to light. In some cases, it seems obvious that aspects of the event were shaped by organizers to reinforce prevalent stereotypes of Indian culture; in others, the Indian actors appear complicit in modifying traditions. Focusing on the role of architecture, landscape, and wilderness motifs allows for a critical analysis of cultural change in the physical domain of Indian Days.

By the end of the 1920s Banff Indian Days had taken on a consistent format. Staples of the fair such as the erection of a tipi camp, the parade in regalia, costuming, and the consumption of buffalo meat were repeated in consistent locations and manners from year to year. A systematic examination of selected events and spaces provides insight not only into the Indian participants and their culture, but also reveals much about the audience and their projected views of Indians. These expectations, I will argue, were enmeshed with ideas of primitiveness and, in turn, with an image of the region as a primitive wilderness.

Tipi Village

The Indian participants in Indian Days traveled from the reserve at Morley to Banff, fifty miles west, or a two-day journey by horseback. When they arrived, they made camp on the eastern edge of town, at the base of Cascade Mountain. The land was near an old racetrack which offered ample room for horse races, foot races, and rodeo-style events. Park superintendent

Howard Douglas allowed the organizing committee to clear brush, build corrals, and effect other improvements to create a festival venue in the area.⁵⁰⁹

While practical considerations were important, other explanations were advanced for the choice of site. Apparently, the site was a traditional Stoney camping ground.⁵¹⁰ Its natural beauty was also celebrated: a panoramic view of the event taken by a *Crag and Canyon* staff photographer in 1912 and published in several Canadian and American papers was framed by towering Cascade mountain to the left and an expanse of coniferous forest to the right [Figure 5-7]. Later descriptions of the grounds associated them closely with nearby wildlife reserves. A 1926 report describes the camp as being “in the Elk Pasture,”⁵¹¹ while a 1927 article elaborates further, redacting a *CP Bulletin* description of the setting as “in the Elk Pasture near Buffalo Park, in a lovely meadow surrounded by mile-high mountains.”⁵¹² Just as noble and ignoble savages were linked to primitive nature, the site of the Indian campground increasingly became identified as a natural landscape, with reports emphasizing its qualities as a natural site associated with mountains and wildlife preserves.

Beginning in the mid-1920s, the campground became an attraction in and of itself. In 1922, sports events held at the nearby racetrack included domestic-themed competitions for “pitching

⁵⁰⁹ Harmon, "Began When Hotel Guests Were Isolated."

⁵¹⁰ "Banff Indian Day: A Successful Fete."

⁵¹¹ Earle Hooker, "Banff's Spectacular Pow-Wow to Last Three Days," 1926.

⁵¹² "Banff's Big Indian Pow Wow a Colorful Spectacle," *Conticook Observer*, Sept. 23 1927. Also see Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 221, June 1, 1927, 37.

teepee, hobbling horses and making fire” and “striking teepee and packing horse.” In these contests, each “camp” consisted of a man and woman, and nothing smaller than a 16-foot tipi was permitted.⁵¹³ This setup superimposed a Western, nuclear family structure onto the competitors, that of a monogamous couple occupying a single home structure.⁵¹⁴ In later years, this Western lens was applied to the actual campground, which was presented as a kind of in-situ ethnological display. The 1926 program announced that the gates to “the Indian Village of a ‘hundred teepees’” would be open to visitors for the entire second day. “Nowhere on the American continent can a scene just like this be reproduced,” it proclaimed, sketching an image of the camp as a living diorama:

Here you will see the Indians in their lives of 100 years ago. The daily occupation of those days will be depicted in the teepees and out. The Medicine Man’s Sun Lodge, Bow and Arrow Making, Buckskin and Bead Work Displays, Dried Meat, the Squaw and her papoose at home, the Indian Brave and Hunter, with dozens of other camp scenes that will delight and wonder you.⁵¹⁵

A 1927 report similarly depicted the Indian village as an opportunity to glimpse an ancient past. On the second day of the three-day festival, it announced, “visitors to the camp will see the Indians at occupations that they pursued in the days of a century back.”⁵¹⁶ In such descriptions, the Stoneys were relegated to the past. The number 100 was frequently used as a superlative —

⁵¹³ Program from Banff Indian Days, 1922. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, SKMBT_C35110071315232

⁵¹⁴ This image of a nuclear family was also present in the photograph “A Cree Family at Home” discussed earlier, and in presentations of First Nations in such contexts as the Chicago World’s Fair, whose Aboriginal specimens included a nuclear Navajo family. See Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, 39.

⁵¹⁵ Official Programme of Banff Indian Day Sports, 1926, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, SKMBT_C35110071315252.jpg

⁵¹⁶ “Banff has Indian Sports Next Week,” *Montreal Gazette*, July 22 1927.

100 tipis, 100 years ago — perhaps to indicate a suitably impressive display, and a sufficient extent of time to distance the Indian practices from the present. Rather than being a temporary staging ground, the encampment was increasingly presented as a permanent home of the Indians, filled with domestic activity: “meals are cooked in the open, squaws carry wood and water while little children romp and play around the tipis.”⁵¹⁷ A 1928 report describes “Indian village” as a place where “the Indians are ‘at home’ to the ‘Palefaces,’” perhaps referring to modes of genteel entertaining at the time. The whites were invited to inspect the dwellings of the Indians, although in the manner of landlords rather than guests.⁵¹⁸ An article from 1930 describes the scene on visiting day, when “Mr. and Mrs. Stony Indian were [...] ‘at home’ to their paleface visitors. Cooking, beadworking, costume making and other items in the home life of the Indians were demonstrated, as also were the home sports of the redskins.”⁵¹⁹ The village imagery established by this time continued into the 1930s, when reporters described buffalo meat drying, beadwork, and tipi-manufacture from moosehides in the campground — women’s chores performed using “ancient domestic methods.”⁵²⁰

In the spirit of ethnographic displays, camp visit days were seen as times of “education for the white people,” and opportunities to learn “something concrete about the one-time owners of

⁵¹⁷ "Banff's Big Indian Pow Wow a Colorful Spectacle."

⁵¹⁸ "Indian Days at Banff," *Montreal Gazette*, March 20 1928.

⁵¹⁹ "Stony Indians, Gay, Colorful, Please Banff."

⁵²⁰ "Indian Women Still Employ Ancient Domestic Methods," *Albertan*, July 26 1937.

these parts.”⁵²¹ This inherently ensconced the First Nations in a primitive past, making them into objects or monuments in a living museum by putting them on display performing household tasks using archaic methods. Rather than providing evidence of a living culture, these traditions were displayed as curious remnants of the past, principally of entertainment value rather than having practical application in the present-day.

As the campground became an attractive destination for visitors, the decoration of tipis became common. Before the inauguration of the fairs, Stoneys manufactured two kinds of tipi: a portable type covered with animal skins, and a non-portable type, built by packing spruce poles tightly together into a conical shape and chinking them with moss. Generally, neither type had any surface decoration.⁵²² Photos from Indian Days in the 1890s show an encampment comprised of plain tipis of the first type [Figure 5-8]. However, as prizes were allotted at the Days for the “best-kept teepees,” painted versions appeared in increasingly elaborate designs.⁵²³ A 1910 camp included tipis adorned with simple motifs — dots, stripes, and an occasional representational image, such as the tree that is visible on the foreground tipi in an archival photograph [Figure 5-9].⁵²⁴ By 1919, more elaborate uses of design were evident. One photo from that year shows a trio of tipis, all with patterns that underscored the conical geometry of the structures [Figure 5-10]. In the front tipi, a series of striped bands ascended in a defined rhythm; the top of the tipi

⁵²¹ "Stony Indians, Gay, Colorful, Please Banff."

⁵²² Snow, *These Mountains are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians*, 4-5.

⁵²³ "Indians Pitch Teepees On Ancient Gathering Grounds in Mountains," *Calgary Herald*, July 11 1935.

⁵²⁴ Dempsey, *Indians of the Rocky Mountain Parks*, 26-27.

bore a painted star. On a second tipi, a dotted band adorned the bottom, while finer stripes marked the tip. The middle section was decorated by a buffalo skull design. In the third tipi, a pair of arcs marked the entrance. Union Jacks flew from several structures, in honor of the Prince of Wales' visit to Banff Indian Days as he crossed Canada on the Canadian Pacific Railway that year. An image from the 1930s shows that by this time, the tipis were yet more elaborately decorated [Figure 5-11]. The tipi in the foreground was painted in its entirety, bearing a solid background, bighorn sheep near the base, and a series of white dots around the middle. The top flaps were finished in a lighter tone, distinguishing this feature from the lower section. In the fourth tipi in the row, the top flaps were also accentuated, this time by a striped border, while a carefully drawn moose adorned the middle section.

While these elaborately painted tipis were presented as traditional artifacts of Native life, the decoration of tipis was a recent innovation. As Hutchinson has demonstrated, in the United States Native American artists were a source of inspiration for the mainstream art world, and in turn Amerindian craftspeople drew from modernist aesthetic ideas.⁵²⁵ Similarly, the geometric designs adorning tipis at Banff Indian Days may be evidence of cultural crossover between Native artisans and the mainstream modern art movement emerging in Canada. New opportunities for cultural expression certainly were afforded by the practice of painting tipis. This was most evident in pictographic illustrations of buffalo heads, trees, and other icons that referred to traditional teachings or which were personal and family icons. The use of specific colors and geometric forms could also hold symbolic significance for members of the tribe.

⁵²⁵ Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915*.

As they became painted canvases, the meaning of tipis expanded. From being unadorned architectural artifacts primarily of internal value for First Nations communities, they were amplified into broader cultural signifiers that, by literally displaying tribal symbols, became icons of “Indianness” to a broader public. In the eyes of non-Native audiences, tipis were simple structures, assembled from materials gathered from the natural surroundings with which Indians were associated — wooden poles, buffalo skins, animal sinew. The tipis were seen as primitive in their construction, a meaning amplified by their association with a people cast as the pre-civilized inhabitants of the North American continent. The painted images on tipis, like the painted faces of Indians seen on railway platforms, were thus viewed as forms of savage expression applied to these archaic structures.

As a symbol, the tipi could convey meaning even when it was detached from its Native inhabitants. Tipis appeared alongside and within establishments that drew on the structures’ primitivist associations. Sometimes they were actually used as shelters — as mentioned earlier, the Trail Riders of Canada set up tipi camps on their annual trips. In other cases, they were presented as aesthetic objects rather than used as functional shelters. For instance, tipis were erected in clearings near the bungalow camps, appeared adjacent to railway hotels [Figure 5-12], and were erected on the grounds of events such as the Banff Winter Festival and Banff Highland Festival. While there is no evidence that people resided in these tipis overnight, visitors could likely touch, examine and enter them.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁶ During the same era, tipis were also used to host gatherings in American summer camps. See Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth*,

When visitors used tipis for sleeping or enjoyed them more casually as part of their surroundings, they to some degree engaged in what Phil Deloria calls “playing Indian.” Deloria describes how artifacts such as the tipi might evoke “a primitivist exterior Indian Other, vanished from the modern world but still accessible through ritual and its accompanying objects.”⁵²⁷ Whether accommodating guests on a riding excursion or stationed near a hotel, the tipis lent a sense of authenticity to their surroundings, encouraging visitors to identify these forested areas as “primitive.” Through its pared-down construction, the man-made structure paradoxically signified a “primitive wilderness,” devoid of modern humans. The eclipsing of other traditional structures, such as the spruce-pole-and-moss tipi, and widespread adoption of the Plains Indian tipi in popular culture also signaled the transformation of the artifact into a symbol. From a structure that held functional significance in providing shelter for a set of inhabitants and their belongings, its value shifted so that it was converted primarily to a cultural signifier of “Indianness,” in which meaning was attached to the image of the tipi rather than being intertwined with its use.

The layout of the tipis at Indian Days is also noteworthy. When presented together as a single Stoney Indian village, the tipi layout arguably drew more from the artificial conditions of reserve life than from the historical living arrangements of the tribe. Before the incursion of Europeans,

1890-1960. The practice remains pervasive today: tipis are a common site at summer camp grounds throughout North America, and often appear as play structures inside and outside museums.

⁵²⁷ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 127.

the Stoneys did not travel as a unit, but rather lived in three distinct bands composed from a total of seven separate groups, which broke off into even smaller extended family units for hunting. From spring to fall, the elderly and sick were left at a band base camp with several men to provide for them, while the others moved along the foothills or into the mountains in search of game, only occasionally returning to the base camps. During the winter, each band came together in its own protected winter campground. The bands gathered together as a single tribe only on rare ceremonial occasions.⁵²⁸ The gathering-in of families and bands at the single Morley reserve thus significantly disrupted the social life of the Stoneys by imposing a living arrangement that was very different from their traditional mode.⁵²⁹ In certain ways, the heterogeneity of the Stoney tribes was indicated at the Banff Indian Days camp — a 1928 newspaper article described the tipi camp as “circular in form, each band of the tribe having a section to themselves.”⁵³⁰ In this way, the layout was likely true to the traditional practices of the tripartite tribe. Nevertheless, the dominant image in the press remained that of a single “village,” a term that connoted a permanent settlement, rather than a temporary campground, and which implied a people normally united, rather than brought together for an exceptional occasion.

⁵²⁸ Snow, *These Mountains are our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians*, 4.

⁵²⁹ The repercussions of this new social arrangement are far-reaching. Crown attorney Rupert Ross argues that the ethical system of First Nations groups was largely grounded in their existence in extended families, which fought hard for survival and had little contact with larger communities. The transition to reserves thus led to a myriad of social conflicts and perceived behavioral problems that traditional ethics could not easily deal with. See Rupert Ross, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Aboriginal Reality*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2006), 116-88.

⁵³⁰ "Indian Days at Banff."

A 1926 C.P.R. poster for the Indian Days encapsulates an idealized image of the tipi village [Figure 1-15]. Eight colorfully-painted tipis are arrayed in a tight arc, suggesting a larger circle of tipis. Cascade Mountain is prominent in the background, dominating the upper portion of the image. A dense crowd of Natives mills around the tents, evoking the bustle of active village life: two figures in the foreground, along with two men mounted on horseback, wear feathered headdresses. One figure, to the right of the image, is dressed as a cowboy; at least five other cowboy hats are visible in the image. Women with long black braids stand near the entrance to each tent, some wrapped in striped Hudson Bay Company blankets. Children, papooses wrapped in blankets or strapped to carrying boards, and a husky dog with a small travois complete the scene. Earth tones dominate in the image — dark browns, reds, and ochres are used to color the tipis, horses, and garments. Dark blues in some skirts, shirts and robes echo the tones of the mountains and sky beyond. These colors associate the Natives and their home structures with their surrounding environment, implying that these people live in close harmony with the natural world. The single group of tipis alludes to the unity of the Stoneys as a single group. In comparison to the unadorned and practical encampments of the 1890s, Banff Indian Days had come to be associated with a colorful array of tipis and activity, evoking what was construed as “authentic” Indian village life.

Banff Indian Days Parade

One of the longstanding highlights of the multi-day event was the Indian Parade. The parades proceeded from the Indian Village along Banff Avenue, the main road through the townsite, then crossed the Bow River and climbed Spray Avenue to end in the courtyard of the Banff Springs Hotel, adjacent to its main entrance. Tourists eagerly photographed the parading Indians, who

collected tips for posing.⁵³¹ When they arrived at the courtyard, honors and prizes were bestowed and speeches made by chiefs, Banff businessmen, and visiting dignitaries. The C.P.R. hotel also presented the Indians with candy, cigarettes, cigars and oranges before the parade returned back through town to the campground.⁵³²

As historian Susan Davis has observed, “Parades, though ephemeral, were more than entertainment: as communication they were ways of influencing perceptions and ideas, and as such, important social actions.”⁵³³ In the case of Banff Indian Day, the parade’s context and form provide valuable hints to its significance for both participants and spectators. Indians were a familiar site in parades: parades were the traditional way in which Wild West troupes — which also included Indians — would arrive into a town. The procession at Banff also took shape in a period when historical pageants, which often included Indians, were becoming a well-established feature of American public life, a movement that reached its peak between 1910 and 1917. Promoters used elaborate historical enactments as vehicles for local boosterism, patriotic moralizing, and popular entertainment. Historian David Glassberg has observed that an emphasis on historical continuity in the pageants of the 1910s gave way to themes of dramatic historical discontinuity in the 1920s and after. In these later events, the past was depicted as a separate

⁵³¹ "Banff Indian Day: A Successful Fete."

⁵³² Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 60.

⁵³³ Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 22.

world from the present.⁵³⁴ In the context of the pageantry movement, the Banff Indian Days parades can be seen to serve a similar role in tracing out a broad-stroked history of Banff. While early parades were relatively informal, by the 1920s, the parade's form drew sharp contrasts between the town's present-day civilized state (represented by the towering Banff Springs Hotel at the culmination of the parade) and its past (represented by the Indian participants and their tipi camp). At the same time, the changing demographics and costuming of Native participants in the parade evinced a public appetite for witnessing Stoneys who increasingly appeared as generic "Indians."

The entire First Nations community, including women and children, was initially included in the opening day parade. Louis Trono recalls parades going back to 1915 that included youngsters: "being a child myself, what really impressed me were the toddlers on horseback riding by themselves and the squaws who rode with 'travois' behind the horses and a few children having a fun ride on the travois with the family belongings."⁵³⁵ In addition to riding atop these simple wooden frames, youngsters also rode on horseback with their parents: a photo from 1912 shows a squaw riding while holding a papoose, with a young child seated behind her [Figure 5-13]. As late as 1925, women still appeared in the parade. "Here and there in the procession might be seen a woman leading a pony hitched to a travois on which were one or more children," one reporter described in 1922,⁵³⁶ while gifts were given to the papooses at the courtyard in 1925.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 288.

⁵³⁵ Louis Trono, "Indian Days Enhanced Tourism," *Crag & Canyon*, July 22 1992.

⁵³⁶ Dempsey, *Indians of the Rocky Mountain Parks*, 16.

However, through the late 1920s the parade increased in seriousness, attracting a more carefully selected group of participants. The 1929 short silent film *Feathered Braves* provides one view of the parade at the end of the decade. By the time the film was shot, parades were held daily: some of these featured a theme such as select bands of Stoney Indians, or parades “for chiefs only.”⁵³⁸ Several of these daily parades had become principally male affairs: the film shows mounted Indian men parading through town, while a caption informs us that mothers and their babies were left in camp. The gendering of the camp as a female domestic place and the parade as male was a relatively new development. The 1929 documentary billed the parade as featuring Indian warriors — the eponymous Feathered Braves. Predominantly male and populated by “warriors,” the event in this enactment had changed into a procession evocative of a war parade.

Parade costuming also shifted to reflect the typecast of Indians on the warpath. Historically, Stoney men had dressed in buckskins, loosely fashioned into breechcloths, leggings, and a shirt; women at first contact wore dresses crafted from two skins and decorated with quillwork. Warriors wore horned headdresses and white wolfskin caps. By the mid nineteenth century, the Stoney began changing their attire, incorporating blankets, tanned leather, and beadwork. By the end of the nineteenth century, hats, vests, cotton shirts, trousers, and full-skirted women’s

⁵³⁷ Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 60.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 61.

dresses had taken over.⁵³⁹ In early parades, Stoneys usually wore their everyday cotton garments, sometimes donning western-style cowboy hats [Figures 5-14 and 5-15]. By the mid-1910s, payment was issued at the beginning of the parade depending on the elaborateness of the costumes, with feathered and beadwork costumes given more money than less colorful garb.⁵⁴⁰ Costumes in later years were judged as the Indians crossed the Bow River Bridge, and additional prizes were presented at the end of the parade. The 1922 and 1923 programs noted cash prizes for “Best Native Costumes.” By 1925, a number of costume prizes were given out, including one for Best Cowboy Costume — but the majority of prizes favored traditional and war-like garb. These included prizes for “Best Fancy Costume, Man and Woman; Best Fancy Costume, Boy and Girl; Best Warrior Costume” and “Prize for most unique get-up of early days.”⁵⁴¹

In response to these incentives, Stoneys developed more elaborate costuming, donning what reporters called “warpaint” on their faces and appropriating adornments traditionally worn by dancers and members from other tribes.⁵⁴² By the mid-1920s, feathered headdresses were a common appearance in the parades, sometimes with trails of plumes extending to the ground [Figure 5-16]. Although typically worn by other Plains groups living south and east of the Stoneys, feathered headdresses were associated with warring Indians in popular imagery. Banff

⁵³⁹ Josephine Paterek, *Encyclopedia of American Indian Costume* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994), 94-96.

⁵⁴⁰ Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 60-61.

⁵⁴¹ Official Programme of Banff Indian Day Sports, 1925. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, SKMBT_C35110071315250.jpg

⁵⁴² "26th Annual Indian Day."

tourists appreciated “the showy costumes, with plumes and gaudy blankets, bead-bedecked headgears and fancy regalia for the mounts,” considering them “a winning feature” of the proceedings.⁵⁴³ In the eyes of promoters, this costuming was an authentic evocation of the Stoneys’ history. As one article observed, “the parade this morning was reminiscent of the olden days when the redskins traveled through the forests in hordes on missions of war or celebration.”⁵⁴⁴ In reality, the costumes derived from a romanticized version of the past. The introduction of more elaborate costumes gave occasion for Stoney to revive craft practices, but in the process, they were also involved in the manufacturing of authenticity, or what historian Eric Hobsbawm has called “the invention of tradition.”⁵⁴⁵ As Peter Geller notes in his analysis of a comparable display, “Although Native people participated in the pageant for their own reasons, pageant organizers attempted to define and limit their appearance and actions as ‘Indians.’ Elaborate dress, in particular, tended to affirm, and conform to, these perceived roles.”⁵⁴⁶ By adopting elements from various First Nations traditions such as the feathered bonnet, the Stoneys dramatized their own history as a story of universal “Indianness,” among other reasons to win prizes and impress spectators.

⁵⁴³ "Indian Day Sports at Banff Draw Flocks of Interested Tourists."

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.

⁵⁴⁶ Peter Geller, "'Hudson's Bay Company Indians': Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

The First Nations apparently were not shy about taking their costumed image to the point of self-caricature. A 1926 press event pitted Stoney Indian chiefs against a Miss Marion Eliot from Brooklyn, New York in a game of golf, with local entrepreneurs Norman Luxton and Jim Brewster serving as caddies. The stunt took place on the Banff Springs Hotel course, and was photographed for dissemination by the C.P.R. publicity department [Figure 5-17].⁵⁴⁷ The chiefs are arrayed in full-feathered headdresses, in contrast to the frontiersman outfits of Luxton and Brewster and the chic fitted jacket worn by Ms. Eliot. “Chief Green Hills of the Morley Reserve and Miss Marion Eaton of 51 Remsen St., Brooklyn, challenged Chiefs Eagle Hunter and Spotted Eagle to a game of golf,” remarked a caption under a photo of the event in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. The description gave an implicitly civilized air to the Brooklynite, who had a proper title and smart address, in contrast to the Indians who were referred to by animal descriptors rather than their given names, and only assigned a general place of abode at the Reserve. The caption continued to note that naturally, “Miss. Eaton was the best player of the foursome.” In another rendition of the event, a knight in shining armor also competed, and the Indians were dressed in buckskin breechcloths. This exaggerated display of antiquity — the medieval knight, and the presumably equally ancient Indians — created a comic juxtaposition to the other competitors and to the modern, manicured landscape of the golf course.

The stereotyped image of the Indian warrior was upheld with a certain seriousness by the tribal authorities. In 1927, a Native who appeared garbed in a kilt, oat, sporran, plaid, and glengarry

⁵⁴⁷ See "Brooklyn Girl in Picturesque Foursome," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 8 1926, Earle Hooker, "'Big Injuns,' in the Canadian Pacific Rockies, Show the Humble Tourist-Palefaces How to Play Banff Golf," 1926.

— perhaps a tongue-in-cheek homage to the Scottish founders of Banff — was reprimanded by the Stoney and Blood Indian chiefs, who in council considered barring him from the following year's Indian Days.⁵⁴⁸ Tribe members were expected to comply with an agreed norm of costuming, whether to meet the expectations of spectators to the event, or to protect an image appropriated by the Amerindians themselves by this time.

As the parade with its costuming came to be presented as a display of Indian warriors, any signs of potential threat or aggression were countered by the introduction not only of chic golfers, but also of federal authority figures. This fit with another stereotype of early nationalism: the story of the Northwest Mounted Police as a pacifying force in Western Canada. In popular fiction and film, Indians were often presented as a foil to the police force. As historian Daniel Francis explains, “the glorious story of the Mounted Police required Indians who were marginal.” In the rehearsed narrative, “Indians were being offered progress, the gift of civilization. They should be thankful, not resistant.”⁵⁴⁹ In line with the romantic history of a peaceful Western Canadian conquest, Mounted Police and Indians coexisted within the parade. While Indians were the featured performers, Mounties appeared at crucial moments to act as authority figures in the event. As early as 1923, parading Indians were lined up on the median of the Banff main street, where Mounted Police examined them in the manner of a military inspection [Figure 5-18]. Mounties also escorted the parade into the courtyard, and were followed by the Indian chiefs.

⁵⁴⁸ "Indian in Kilties Brings Dispute in Banff Celebration," *Deseret News*, August 10 1928.

⁵⁴⁹ Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 81. The interrelationship between Mounties, criminality and the concept of Canadian wilderness would merit additional study and could form a chapter on its own.

There, as on the golf course, local organizers Norman Luxton and Jim Brewster wore a hybrid Indian-Mounted Police outfit: according to Banff resident Louis Trono's recollections, they were "decked out in beaded buckskin outfits with Mountie-style Stetson hats."⁵⁵⁰ Federal military honors were also bestowed upon participants, bringing First Nations leaders into the Mountie-led power hierarchy. *Feathered Braves* describes Indian chief Peter Wesley making a speech in the courtyard, "just like any other statesmen," and then "in potentate fashion" receiving military dress. Through these ceremonies, the Feathered Braves were rendered either subservient, or otherwise complicit with the authority of the Northwest military police.

A sense of historical narrative was implicit in the overall trajectory of the parade, which began at the tipi camp and ended in the courtyard of the Banff Springs hotel. Between these two points, the Indians moved from their primitive home ground, through the middle ground of the town-site, to the pinnacle of high civilization on the slopes of Sulphur Mountain. This physical movement tracked a broader perception of the place of Indians within a modernizing world: they remained associated with a romantic, primitive past, even as the world around them progressed from the frontier life of the outskirts towards increasingly sophisticated expressions of civilization. As the surroundings around them changed, the costumed Indians appeared more and more incongruous. The path was accompanied by increasing shows of authority in the figures of the Mounties and organizers who joined the parade in the town, as well as a growing crowd of spectators. Historian Mary-Ellen Kelm comments that in the nearby Calgary Stampede Indian Parade, "First Nations lead the parade not, in the eyes of organizers, to show their primacy but to

⁵⁵⁰ Trono, "Indian Days Enhanced Tourism."

show their passing.”⁵⁵¹ In a similar manner, by moving from the tipi camp to the hotel, the parading Indians underscored the region’s radical transition from Aboriginality to non-Aboriginal domination.

A subtle power relation also can be perceived in the spatial arrangement of the hotel courtyard, where the parade culminated in a powwow-like celebration. Paraders gathered in the courtyard and in some years, staged drum and dance performances there. Meanwhile, spectators watched from the surrounding windows and terrace above, or sat and stood on elevated steps around the periphery [Figure 5-19]. From these raised vantage points, the gathered Indians were “targets for many pale-face cameras.”⁵⁵² The elevated viewpoint is used in *Feathered Braves* (1929), where the gathered Indians are filmed as a clustered group seen from the balconies above, as many spectators would have viewed them [Figure 5-20]. The main shot in this section of the film is framed such that the density of the gathered Indian group is emphasized, with unoccupied courtyard space beyond. This conveys a certain excitement among participants, but also makes it appear as if the Indians have been corralled into a tight group, and by implication could be easily controlled. The tight gathering of Indians rendered the Natives not only vulnerable to the pale-face spectators and their cameras, but also implicitly subservient to the authorities associated with the hotel building that towered above and encircled them.

⁵⁵¹ Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Riding into Place: Contact Zones, Rodeo, and Hybridity in the Canadian West, 1900-1970," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 18, no. 1 (2007): 118.

⁵⁵² Hooker, "Banff's Spectacular Pow-Wow to Last Three Days." Banff Indian Days Press Clippings File, Glenbow Archive.

In addition to military honors, hotel and festival officials descended from their raised seats to bestow prizes “for excellence of costume, etc.”⁵⁵³ upon the Natives, and waiters circulated with gifts of fruit for the Indian children. In 1930, white hosts christened a Stoney baby in the courtyard, showcasing a Native acceptance of western religious rites. During these ceremonies, the Stoneys dismounted from their horses, ensuring that they would not be taller than the hosts. In their actions and placement in space, the Banff Days organizers were in a position of power, as benefactors to the dependent Indians.

While the parade purported to replicate traditional First Nations displays, over time new power narratives were overlaid. Costumes associated with stereotypical Indians — including fancy beadwork and feathered headdresses — were elaborated, or in some cases introduced, to create an image that met tourist expectations of seeing colorful, primitively attired Natives during the festival. These costumes recalled war-ready Indian parties, familiar from dime-novels and Hollywood movies. At the same time, the Canadian Mounted Police who accompanied the parade combated any hint of actual threat. Moving from the primitive tipi camp to the imposing Banff Springs Hotel courtyard, the Stoneys traced the route of the civilization that had suppressed their culture — and which now, with a benevolent air, encouraged them to re-enact traditions for a white audience.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

Wildlife & Indian Days

Just as wildlife was a key feature of the recreational wilderness image of the Rockies, supposedly wild animals — including horses, game animals, and buffalo — were closely associated with the Native cultural identity presented at Banff Indian Days. Since at least 1911, sports and rodeo events were a major attraction at the festival. Foot races, horse races, and cowboy-style competitions such as bucking contests occurred at the racetrack on most festival days. The most reported and photographed of these events were the equestrian events, and the wild character of the mounts was often emphasized. A 1910-newspaper image showed a Stoney atop a bronco, “four feet off the ground and bucking furiously” [Figure 5-21]. A caption pointed out that the animal wore no bit, only a halter: “The Stony Indians rope, tie and saddle their wild horses in true Aboriginal fashion — providing a touch of the old west in the streamlined 20th century.”⁵⁵⁴ A 1926 report similarly emphasized competitions with untamed horses, describing activities including “wild pony racing, wrestling on horseback, bucking bronco exhibitions, bow-and-arrow contests in which wonderful skill is shown and many other old-time Indian sports now seen only in the Last Great West.”⁵⁵⁵ Although Indian Days may have originated as sporting days for the broader community, by 1922, non-Indians were strictly prohibited, with announcements of “No White Competitors allowed to take part.”⁵⁵⁶ Even though many of the sports were typical of rodeos, they were presented as “Tribal Sports,” suggesting that the Stoneys possessed a distinct equestrian tradition and special horse-handling skills.

⁵⁵⁴ "Ride 'im!," *Toledo Blade*, Sept. 4 1912.

⁵⁵⁵ ———, "Banff's Spectacular Pow-Wow to Last Three Days."

⁵⁵⁶ Program from Banff Indian Days, 1922. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, SKMBT_C35110071315232

Another event that would become a staple of the Days was the archery competition. Typically, this involved twenty or thirty Indians equipped with bows and arrows, simultaneously shooting at a single canvas sheep, goat, or deer-shaped target [Figure 5-22]. A rope line was laid out in the field beside the tipi camp and the target placed 200 feet beyond. Apparently, the simplicity of the event, with its scores of simultaneously shot arrows, made for an exciting sight that appealed to spectators because of its supposedly “traditional” nature.⁵⁵⁷ Clearly, the show also had a comic aspect, as many arrows flew wide of the large target during the chaotic proceedings. The events coupled the Indians to the wild game that once sustained them, through the choice of animal targets. However, the competitions also detached the Stoney from the real-life practice of hunting. They shot at stuffed targets rather than at live game, and the lack of skill as much as its presence was a source of entertainment to visitors.

Live buffalo figured for a period in Indian Days, reinforcing associations between the disappearing bison and perhaps equally imperiled Native traditions. Beginning in the mid-1920s, the Canadian Government donated buffalo from the reserves at Elk Island Park as part of the provisions to Indians attending the festival.⁵⁵⁸ In 1926, according to a *New York Times* report, two Indians chased down one of the donated bulls in a car and shot it. “The animal being slain, the tribe then chose four of their leaders [...] to butcher him in characteristic Stoney fashion,

⁵⁵⁷ Drees, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 63.

⁵⁵⁸ Articles at the time note an annual donation of three buffalo, although in 1938, according to a newspaper report, eight buffalo were donated. See "Stony Indians, Gay, Colorful, Please Banff."

with primitive implements,” the paper reported. The subsequent description reinforced a notion of the Indians as barbaric and bloodthirsty:

The Indian butcher’s methods differ from those of the white man because the tribesman wants to leave as much blood in the meat as possible and never cuts against the grain, but slices the meat in slabs, following the muscle and tissue, and avoiding arteries wherever possible. [...] Visitors at the pow-wow watched interestedly for the forty minutes which it took the tribal butchers to complete their job, at the end of which time 1,500 pounds of buffalo meat had been carved solely with an axe and four knives, similar to those used by other Stoney Indians for centuries.⁵⁵⁹

However, apparently the killing of the buffalo by Indians was either too violent a spectacle, or the use of a car and shotgun too contemporary to fit with an image of the primitive Indian. By 1928, the donation of buffalo had become an annual event, but their slaughter had become more strictly regulated. Just as Mounties were added as officiating figures in the parade, now, the killing of the buffalo was conducted by an appointed game warden. The tribe did, however, efficiently butcher the animal once felled: “So skilled and speedy are the few Indian butchers employed that within thirty minutes after the shot is fired there is not a vestige left of what was once a lordly animal weighing approximately one ton.”⁵⁶⁰ This process was a spectacle in itself, attracting visitors who saw in the slain buffalo something of the dying traditions associated with the Indians. As one reporter noted. “Once a year then, young and old — a few who remember the taste of buffalo meat since the time when the animals were plentiful, and many who have only tasted it since the inauguration of Indian Days, feed on what was once the main food meat of their race.”⁵⁶¹ Like with the equestrian competitions and bow-and-arrow contests, the Indians

⁵⁵⁹ "Canadian Indians Hunt Buffalo with Flivver."

⁵⁶⁰ "Indian Days at Banff."

⁵⁶¹ "Stony Indians, Gay, Colorful, Please Banff."

were seen to have “old-time” animal-handling skills and savage appetites for wild game, which were incongruous with the norms of present-day civilization.

Just as permitting the Stoneys to slay live buffalo had perhaps appeared too violent for spectators, the event was further tamed in 1930, when buffaloes were no longer killed on site. Rather, Norman Luxton purchased a number of buffalo carcasses from the federally managed herd each winter, and had the frozen meat stored by the P. Burns Co., a Calgary meat company, until the following summer. At least through the 1930s, the Indians still butchered the carcasses and distributed the meat in front of spectators. By the 1940s, it is not clear whether the meat was butchered on-site or simply distributed there [Figure 5-23]. An Indian Days memo uncovered by Drees suggests that the buffalo meat made the Indians sick, and was therefore quietly exchanged for cow meat after its distribution.⁵⁶² In later years, live butchering was no longer part of program, and elk meat was distributed as the meat component of the rations.

While the association of wild animals with the Banff Indian Days Natives was maintained for decades, the rhetoric of this affiliation was seemingly more important than the extent of the Stoneys’ actual engagement with wild animals. Stoneys were presented as having special horse skills, even if the majority of equestrian competitions at the Days were staple rodeo events. Tribe members took aim at stuffed deer and moose in archery competitions and were given buffalo meat, which had been previously shot and in some cases, was long dead and frozen. These rituals

⁵⁶² ———, "Making Banff a Wild West: Norman Luxton, Indians and Banff Tourism, 1902-1945", 63-64. An alternative explanation for the memo that Drees examines is that male buffalo meat was exchanged for female buffalo (cow) meat, which was preferred for its superior taste.

made romantic allusions to the primitive barbarism of the imagined Stoney traditional way of life. However, the same rituals simultaneously made clear that the Natives were no longer active hunters and, by extension, no longer presented a threat to white settlers or the wildlife of the region.

The Shaping of Ritual

Concurrently with Banff Indian Days, First Nations were involved in community events across Western Canada. Indians were included in the annual Calgary and Winnipeg Stampedes, as well as small town rodeos.⁵⁶³ From the organizers' point of view, the presence of Amerindians was a sign of authenticity, marking the events' connections to the horse cultures of the Plains First Nations and recalling Wild West Shows that included both cowboys and Indians. The Indian involvement in Stampedes and festivals such as Banff Indian Days did not come easily, but required the concerted lobbying efforts of organizers. The federal Department of Indian Affairs was opposed to Native people performing ceremonial dances and going to stampedes, which took them away from the reserves during the summer growing season. In 1914, Department officials put forward an amendment to the Indian Act that prohibited ceremonial dancing off-reserve and required any Indian going to a stampede to seek permission from the Indian Agent. In response, townspeople across the West fought against the prohibition, pressing the Department for consent to invite local First Nations to perform in parades and compete in

⁵⁶³ For the Blackfoot tribe's involvement in the Indian Village at the annual Calgary Stampede, see the current doctoral research project by Susan Joudrey at Carleton University, Canada.

rodeos.⁵⁶⁴ The communities ultimately desired Amerindian participation to boost the popularity of their events.

In turn, Stoneys played the role of stereotypical “Indians” in the fairs for many reasons. At one level, they had no choice: as Raibmon notes, “authenticity was a structure of power that enabled, even as it constrained, [the] interaction [of Aboriginal people] with the colonial world.”⁵⁶⁵

Participation could also bring important economic and cultural gains. In 1911, a newspaper reported that Natives at Banff Indian Days collected tips from photographers, noting that “some of the wise ones [...] got quite considerable sums of money owing to the frequency of their posing.”⁵⁶⁶ A 1912 report remarked, with a tinge of cynicism that:

the mere announcement of such a day to the Indian himself would not hurry him along this way. But when he is told that meat and other foods will be provided for him while here, that there will be real money prizes for the swiftest horses, then he and all his kind are on hand when the whistle blows. For the Indian does show true appreciation for the almighty dollar.⁵⁶⁷

Probably less from greed than out of real need, economic incentives were important in encouraging Native attendance and in shaping the character of the fairs. The struggling reserve Stoneys depended on Banff Indian Days to raise much-needed cash and secure supplemental

⁵⁶⁴ Kelm, "Riding into Place: Contact Zones, Rodeo, and Hybridity in the Canadian West, 1900-1970," 111-14.

⁵⁶⁵ Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, 11.

⁵⁶⁶ "Banff Indian Day: A Successful Fete."

⁵⁶⁷ Harman Sharples, "Ind'ans up in Canada," *Reading Eagle*, Sept. 12 1912.

rations.⁵⁶⁸ The allocation of prize-money for costuming and for certain types of performances, in turn, motivated the Natives to present themselves in ways that conformed to the expectations of white audiences.

For a variety of reasons, the Stoneys took up the opportunity to display aspects of their traditional culture, however distorted, and showed remarkable capability in adapting them to stated and unstated expectations. In the process, they generated an image of Indian culture with similarities to their traditional way of life as well as overtones of their contemporary situation. Prizes and gratuities from tourists may have given Stoneys an incentive to develop more elaborate costuming than their everyday garb and to decorate normally plain tipis with painted patterns. However, these activities also presented opportunities to develop new expressions, using costume elements and tipis as canvases for cultural symbols suppressed in other contexts. Changing tipi designs, for instance, provided opportunities for exploring aesthetic motifs that engaged with contemporary styles, thus asserting the modernizing of Stoney culture. Paradoxically, by “playing Indian,” the Stoneys gained access to a public forum in which they could make dynamic assertions of identity and culture to White audiences.⁵⁶⁹

The hybrid nature of their participation reflected a tension in their own engagement with the modern world. The Stoneys were prohibited by federal government policy from practicing

⁵⁶⁸ At least in certain years, rations including buffalo meat were provided not only for the duration of the festival, but for some time beyond that, pushing families to attend the fair in order to collect necessary food supplies.

⁵⁶⁹ Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, 11.

traditional culture during day-to-day life on the reserves, with violations resulting in corporal punishment. However, in the context of Banff Indian Days, these displays were seen to have historical importance and entertainment value. As a result, the practice of culture became discontinuous with their daily reality, to some extent becoming frozen in the past for the Stoney as much as it was for the tourists who attended Banff Indian Days.

While Indian Days supported a range of Stoney cultural expressions, an overriding assumption was that these expressions should ultimately coincide with existing stereotypes of “Indianness.” This is particularly evident when looking at the place of cowboys in the event. Many reserve Stoney were cowboys by profession, running or working on ranches in the Morley area. Throughout the 1920s, these roles were accepted as part of the festival, which included rodeo-style competitions and a prize for the best cowboy-style costume. However, “Indianness” remained the primary emphasis of the festival, with many more awards for traditional and “fancy” dress, and elements such as the tipi camp making overt reference to what was perceived as traditional Indian life. Eventually, even more Stoney men and women became cowboys in daily life. Several, including Nakoda leader Johnny Left Hand, had become renowned professional cowboys on the rodeo circuit by the 1950s.⁵⁷⁰ The growing dominance of Stoney cowboys was perceived by organizers to threaten the identity of the festival, prompting an entrenchment of Indian themes. This is apparent in posters promoting Indian Days from the 1930s and 1940s [Figures 5-24 and 5-25]. In a poster from 1939, a Native elder adorned in a

⁵⁷⁰ Kelm, "Riding into Place: Contact Zones, Rodeo, and Hybridity in the Canadian West, 1900-1970," 120-21.

feathered headdress dominates the image, holding a staff or a pipe. Earth tones dominate this image, in which there is no trace of the cowboy theme. The other, issued in 1946, is a cropped version of the 1926 poster [Figure 1-15]. This version is reframed to exclude the Indian dressed in a cowboy uniform, prominent in the original: all of the Indians in the new image wear blankets or buckskin dresses, with the exception of one child in a cowboy hat and bandana. In 1961, a more drastic policy measure was implemented to ensure the purity of the Native theme: entrants dressed as cowboys were prohibited from participating, and only “Indians” permitted, precluding Stoneys with a plural identity.⁵⁷¹

From year to year, events at the festival were adjusted to reinforce ideals of authenticity, tied to the romantic expectations of non-Aboriginal spectators. This authentic history was located in the generalized past. As a result, the festival was characterized by an atmosphere of nostalgia, celebrating a bygone era that was seen as unrecoverable. In effect, the festival became an agent by which contemporary Stoneys were pushed into the past, which was publicly displayed and celebrated, while their present-day living situation remained largely unknown to the general public.

From Banff Indian Days to Folk Festivals

In the late 1920s, the C.P.R. expanded its sponsorship of Indian Days. In previous years, the Banff Springs Hotels had been one of several supporters for the festival and had arranged special excursion trains during the event. However, this effort appears to have been locally initiated,

⁵⁷¹ Dave Cobb, "200 Indians Get Festival On The Road," *Calgary Herald*, July 20 1961.

rather than a larger corporate promotional strategy as was the case with the luxury hotel networks, irrigation farms, and bungalow camps. The event's first appearance in a CP Bulletin, issued to passenger service staff system-wide, was a humble, one-sentence entry in 1922:

"District Passenger Agent McDonald, Banff, writes that the annual Indian Pow-Wow is to be held at Banff on July 17 and 18, and that pony-racing, bow and arrow contests, squaw races, bareback riding contests, wrestling on horseback and various other attractions will be features of the event."⁵⁷² Later in the decade, the railway's coverage of the event expanded. In 1926, one of the first in a series of Canadian Pacific posters promoting Indian Days was issued, testifying to the railway company's increased involvement in the proceedings [Figure 1-15]. By 1927, the event merited a full one-paragraph entry in the CP Bulletin. Two paragraphs were dedicated to the event in 1928. In 1929, the event prompted not only an announcement in the Bulletin, but also a full-page profile of Walking Buffalo, a Stoney tribal leader.

In 1928, Banff Indian Days was promoted as part of a new C.P.R. cultural initiative. That year's edition of Banff Indian Days was presented within a series of folk and handicraft festivals, held across the country between 1928 and 1931. Orchestrated by railway publicity agent John Murray Gibbon, the sixteen events included Folk Song and Handicraft festivals in Quebec City, Winnipeg, Calgary and Regina; Sea Music Festivals in Vancouver and Victoria; and Highland Gatherings in Banff. Co-sponsors included such prominent institutions as the National Gallery, National Museum, and Public Archives of Canada. The festivals aimed mainly to generate tourism for the spring and fall shoulder seasons, although they also purported to encourage the

⁵⁷² Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 162, July 1, 1922, p.20.

revival of traditional industries. "Tourists naturally desire to take home with them something of unique design or individual charm which cannot be obtained at home," explained a C.P.R. bulletin entry that celebrated the appeal of hand-crafted rugs. "The revival of an old industry is due in part to the festivals promoted by the Canadian Pacific Railway, where exhibitions of this art are shown and greatly appreciated by interested spectators."⁵⁷³ In addition to handicrafts, folk plays, songs and dances from different ethnic groups were also part of the festivities. At Banff Indian Days, these took the form of ceremonial songs and dances, conducted in the Banff Springs Hotel courtyard following the daily parade, and at the Indian Village in the evenings.⁵⁷⁴

As historian Stuart Henderson has argued in his studies of three Prairie festivals, these events celebrated "the innocence and primitive stability of Folk culture(s)" while asserting that "this innocence is always already corrupted, or at any rate untenable in the modern world."⁵⁷⁵

Henderson points out that the apparently inclusive festivals tended to render foreign cultures distant, static, archaic, and "utterly non-threatening," a kind of adornment for the landscape ultimately owned by white Anglophone Canadians.⁵⁷⁶ The visual spectacle of difference, displayed primarily through costumes and pageants, aimed to expand the hegemonic conceptions of identity and nationhood, centered on the cultural dominance of the English and French

⁵⁷³Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 230, March 1, 1928. Supplement p.3.

⁵⁷⁴ For a listing and basic information about these festivals, see the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* article on C.P.R. Festivals at the National Library of Canada's website.

⁵⁷⁵ Henderson, "'While there is Still Time...': J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931," 150.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.: 154.

“founding races.”⁵⁷⁷ In many ways, this attitude towards celebrating cultures across the country mirrored views well-established in Banff Indian Days, which saw the Stoneys as presenting a “spectacle of difference” that was fundamental to the Canadian past, yet simultaneously untenable. In this sense, the creation of the nation-wide folk and handicraft festivals marked the culmination of a powerful idea that had been earlier advanced by the C.P.R. Through Banff Indian Days, as well as through the folk festivals, ethnic minorities were layered onto the national landscape, and their cultural artifacts and traditions championed as components of the nation’s quaint but untenable heritage past.

A photo of the Banff Springs Hotel’s reception hall shows an exhibition of Indian artifacts that may have coincided with Banff Indian Week in 1928 [Figure 5-26]. A delicately painted tipi occupies the front of the room. Much smaller than those used for actual occupation, it was created as a purely aesthetic object. Miniature tipi-silhouettes ring the lower edge, while the image of a wolf and what might be a maple leaf are visible on the tipi’s middle section. Other Indian artifacts are displayed on the hall’s walls. Along the window side, one can view a buckskin costume, a long feathered headdress, and what appears to be a beaded shawl. At the back of the room, an intricately woven blanket hangs above two fur jackets. The costumes and blankets hang like trophies, in the same manner that animal pelts from the hunt might have at another time decorated the baronial manor-styled room. Recalling displays of Native artifacts at national and local museums, the one-room display affirmed the value of Indian-made objects as

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.: 164.

both heritage items and spoils, signs of a primitive culture that had been ultimately conquered by the modern world.

After Indian Days

In later decades, the railway company continued to support Banff Indian Days, but became more removed from promoting it actively. Long-standing organizers Norman Luxton and Claude Brewster were in large part responsible for maintaining the fair's momentum and success into the 1960s. Support for the event, from both sponsors and participants, began to decline after organization passed to the local Kiwanis club in 1969. Indian Days ran on a tight budget, particularly in its final years when Banff merchants were contributing little to the operating fund. Perhaps because the Kiwanis group did not have Luxton and Brewster's established personal relationships with the Stoney, the terms of First Nations participation became a ground of fierce contention in the event's final years. Following losses its first two years of running the event, the Kiwanis club decided to eliminate the rodeo, invite other tribes, and limit the number of participants and tipis in order to control their budget. They also asked participants to pay a \$5 deposit each, to ensure their good behavior. The dissatisfied Stoneys, who had always enjoyed exclusive participation in the festival, boycotted and staged a parallel Indian Days on the Morley reserve.⁵⁷⁸ "They want to run it all themselves, to manipulate everything and tell us how high to jump," said Stoney Chief John Snow. "We must be given a part of the decision-making as well as more monetary incentive. We're not puppets, you know, and that's the way they've been

⁵⁷⁸ Pete Vogan, "Simultaneous Indian Days and Stonys Quit Banff," *The Albertan*, July 23 1971.

trying to treat us.”⁵⁷⁹ These protests coincided with the discovery of oil and gas deposits on the reserve at Morley, a new source of economic security for the tribe. Moreover, First Nations groups across Canada were becoming more militant during this decade, organizing in opposition to the federal government’s infamous 1969 White Paper, a document by the Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien which proposed to abolish the Indian Act, reject land claims, and assimilate First Nations people into the Canadian population with the status of other ethnic minorities, rather than as a distinct group. The Indian Chiefs of Alberta countered with their own paper, *Citizens Plus*, also known as the Red Paper. The controversy that ensued contributed to the mobilization of the contemporary Aboriginal civil rights movement, with four national associations and thirty-three separate provincial organizations emerging in the aftermath of the debate. In this era of social activism, the Stoneys would have had little interest in participating in a festival with neo-colonial overtones, organized by non-Aboriginals. The Kiwanis continued to run Indian Days until 1978, when the committee disbanded, in large part due to ongoing conflicts with the independent-minded Stoneys who now had no financial or cultural incentive to participate in the fair.

Banff Indian Days left an indelible impression on Banff’s spaces, and many visible reminders of the festival remain to this day. The Bow River Bridge, built in 1922, displays an Indian chief’s face bedecked by a feathered headdress, recalling the costume judging that took place as Indians paraded across [Figure 5-27].⁵⁸⁰ A later Indian Days-related addition to the landscape was a

⁵⁷⁹ Quoted in Patricia Parker, *The Feather and the Drum: The History of Banff Indian Days, 1889-1978* (Calgary: Consolidated Communications, 1990), 117.

⁵⁸⁰ "Native Art," *Calgary Herald*, June 14 1960.

commemorative totem pole, erected in the town's main park in 1976. Although part of West Coast rather than local First Nations traditions, and designed by a non-Native, it fit the generic image of "Indianness" promoted during the annual event.⁵⁸¹ A recent renovation to the park has left the totem pole in place. Built in 1953 to resemble a trading fort, the Luxton Museum of the Plains Indian (now Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum) continues to display Native artifacts; the nearby Banff Indian Trading Post offers handmade moccasins, headdresses, and buffalo heads for sale, recalling items that were popularized as signs of authenticity during Indian Days. Tipis are everpresent in the town. When the internationally televised *Amazing Race* traveled through Banff in 2004, competitors sped to wrap tipi frames with canvas, advised by First Nations representatives clad in ceremonial robes and Hudson's Bay blankets. Tipis are seasonally erected as interactive displays outside the Luxton Museum and at Cascade Gardens; tourists can opt to sleep in one of twelve tipis at Sundance Lodges campground on the town's outskirts. More ephemeral than these displays, but equally important, are the ways that the Banff Indian Days tipi camp, parade, and other events established patterns of inhabitation within Banff's spaces, which have left their mark on the memories of participants and audiences. These physical artifacts and remembered images are indelibly linked to the architecture and landscapes of the town, recording the way that Stoney presented themselves during Banff Indian Days.

Very recently, Indian Days has been revived under Stoney leadership. In 2005, a council of elders led by organizer Roland Rollimud organized a celebration in the spirit of earlier Indian Days. Events included staples such as a tipi encampment and a grand parade to the Banff Springs

⁵⁸¹ During a renovation of Banff's Central Park, initiated in 2000, it was decided to leave the pole in place. "Totem Pole Survives Relocation Plan," *Calgary Herald*, March 30 2000.

Hotel, along with storytelling, singing, hoop dancing, drumming and talking circles.⁵⁸²

Significantly, the celebration has since been promoted not for tourism, but rather as an occasion for the Stoney Nakoda to reinvest in their culture independent of an audience. This was clear in the 2010 edition, a five-day festival in which only one day was open to the public. The remaining time was reserved exclusively for Native community members. While a tipi camp was set up on the original site, many of the features developed for the touristic Indian days were excluded — there was no parade, rodeo, or costume-judging. Instead, events included Native-only opening and closing ceremonies, foot races, a tug-of-war, a mini pow-wow, and nightly story telling by elders.⁵⁸³

The Native-led revival of Banff Indian Days represents a significant opportunity for the Stoney to reclaim both the rituals of the festival and the spaces in and around Banff. Since the program is not driven by the expectations of an outside audience, the participants have a chance to remake the event as a tool to re-engage their cultural traditions in a manner that serves the present-day needs of the community. At the same time, they may use the festival to develop new relationships with their ancestral landscapes in the Banff area, including reclaiming the spaces occupied by former Indian Days.

⁵⁸² Judy Larmour, "The Stoney Nakoda Return to Banff," *Legacy*, Fall 2005.

⁵⁸³ "Banff Indian Days," <http://www.banffindiandays.ca/events.html>. Retrieved August 17, 2010. Accessed August 17, 2010.

A Primitive Wilderness

Ultimately, the new versions of Banff Indian Days may begin to advance an alternative to the colonial views reinforced during the first decades of the event. These earlier versions cast the Stoneys as savages in a primitive wilderness, affecting the popular perception of both First Nations and the Canadian Rockies as a landscape. Just as the Natives were seen as being part of an ancient and stable past, the landscapes they were affiliated with were similarly seen as primitive settings frozen in time. Promoters encouraged tourists to perceive the forests and mountains around the Indian village as if they were unchanged from the ill-defined era when savage Indians were thought to roam freely through them. Aiding in this illusion was the presence of live buffalo and elk, imported to populate a nearby paddock. Visitors to Indian Days were oblivious to the contemporary life conditions of Stoneys; they were similarly encouraged to look past changes and additions to the Banff landscape. They saw the Banff area, and by extension the entirety of the park, as primitive wilderness, as if it remained intact from a primeval time. This notion extends to the present day: riding the train through Banff National Park, one of my fellow travelers admired what he saw as the extensive and untouched Canadian forests. To eyes untrained to detecting the sometimes subtle effects of forestry and history, the woods indeed appear intact, and extend as far as the eye can see. In this sense, just as Indian Days commemorated a distant past, the parks act as oversized monuments to a kind of geological golden age; they seem to be preserved from a time when Canada's geography was virginal. Moreover, to many Canadians as well as onlookers from abroad, Canada's national parks are samplings of a natural landscape that extends far beyond their borders. As such, the image of a primitive wilderness at times overflows past park boundaries, becoming seen as characteristic of the country as a whole.

The image of primitive savagery is indisputably damaging to contemporary Stoneys, and the image of a primitive wilderness has correlating hazards. By concentrating attention on landscapes tied to a semi-mythical, unchanging past, attention is diverted from the actual present condition and complexities of areas designated as wilderness, as well as from their actual history. Authenticity is constantly being manufactured with regards to wilderness, particularly in the context of national parks. In the same way that certain artifacts were affiliated with “authentic” Indians — including painted tipis, buffalo, and feathered headdresses — areas designated as wilderness tend to be associated with certain visible signs of authenticity. As we have seen, in the late nineteenth century, the proliferation of game animals was encouraged within the park, while other types of fauna were aggressively controlled. Since that time, a certain reversal has taken place and some formerly maligned animals such as wolves are new standard bearers for areas designated as wilderness. Environmental organizations have long garnered support by championing the preservation of charismatic animal species, such as seals, polar bears, and pandas. Roving large mammals are still the *sine qua non* of a wilderness area; tourists are unfailingly drawn to the elk who roam freely through Banff and Jasper town sites, seeing them as proof of the area’s wilderness qualities. Large trees have been heralded as another sign of wilderness, regardless of the condition or extent of the surrounding ecosystem. Thus, although the giant Douglas firs of Cathedral Grove on Vancouver Island are celebrated and preserved as a heritage forest, the adjacent areas have been aggressively clearcut and other forest ecosystems in the area disrupted by hydro corridors. While large mammals and old-growth forests appear regularly in environmental news headlines, equally threatened but less visible organisms — from the uncatalogued microbes that constitute soil biodiversity to many undistinguished fish species

— go largely unchampioned. Ecological issues tend to revolve around the icons of authentic wilderness, while often eschewing a broader systemic approach.

Moreover, since the value of a primitive wilderness resides in its character as a remnant of the past, cases built around this concept tend to focus on wholesale preservation rather than accommodating the possibility of dynamic change. This approach is not negative *per se*, but can be problematic inasmuch as it may disregard evidence of changes that may have already occurred in an environment or that may be ongoing. For instance, on Vancouver Island, over 75 per cent of the original, productive old growth forests have been logged. While preserving remaining forest areas is important, and has been a *cause célèbre* of treehugging islanders, equally crucial is the development of strategies for tending to logged areas in ways that will assure the future ecological health of these regions.

As J.B. Jackson notes, monuments to an idealized past may have a function. “Ruins provide the incentive for restoration, and for a return to origins,” he writes. He notes that in order for this to occur, a fall away from this golden age is first necessary. “There has to be an interim of death or rejection before there can be renewal and reform.”⁵⁸⁴ Certain champions of a primitive wilderness see it as a model for the future, imagining Edenic communities where humans live as they believe Indians once did, in simple and total harmony with the natural environment. However viable or unviable these scenarios may be, the images of primitiveness they are constructed on must be carefully examined. When these images deal with living cultures — such as the Stoney

⁵⁸⁴ Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics*.

tribe, or the complex ecosystems that constitute landscapes in the Rockies — they are fundamentally irresponsible. The Stoneys, as well as the landscapes they traditionally inhabited, must be seen not as places that are forever frozen in a primitive past, but more accurately as complex living cultures undergoing constant change.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Canada has long seen itself as a wilderness nation. In the twenty-first century, the non-urbanized and uncultivated natural world remains a dominant physical presence: over three quarters of the country lies outside of the predominantly southern belt of urbanized centers and farmland. These areas have few connections to the main transportation corridors in Canada, and poor soils that are not conducive to agriculture. Because of their remote situation and frequently unproductive state, they are typically simplistically referred to and thought of as uninhabited “wilderness” regions.

⁵⁸⁵ In turn, the nation is often seen as both physically and psychologically dominated by the presence of “wilderness.” The Canadian approach to a range of national issues, from politics and economics to environment and architecture, is commonly characterized as conditioned by a “wilderness outlook.”⁵⁸⁶

When Canadian landscapes are characterized as “wilderness” areas today, the layered, multifaceted concepts of wilderness examined in this dissertation are invoked to differing degrees and in new forms. Seen through a preservation-minded lens, Canada is celebrated as an

⁵⁸⁵ 41% of Canada’s landmass is forested, another trait that leads to its characterization as “wilderness.” 45% of the country lies in the arctic or subarctic climate zones. Ed Wikin, "Natural Regions," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2010) <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>.

⁵⁸⁶ For examples of a wilderness definition of national architecture, see John McMinn and Marco Polo, *41 to 66: Regional Responses to Sustainable Architecture in Canada* (Cambridge, Ont.: Cambridge Galleries, Design at Riverside, 2005), Rochon, *Up North: Where Canada's Architecture Meets the Land*. For an analysis and critique, see Elsa Lam, "Wilderness Nation: The Myth of Nature in Canadian Architecture, 1830-1930," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 33, no. 2 (2008).

environmental sanctuary, and entire regions such as “the North” romanticized as pristine, untouched wilderness tracts safeguarded from human impact. In other instances, a conservation approach is taken, and areas such as the oil sands are characterized as replete with untapped resources — a wilderness ripe for exploitation. Sometimes, conflicting ideas characterize a single region: for instance, trekkers value British Columbia’s “wild” forests as sanctuaries for hiking, while industry views the same areas as logging hotspots. As the episodes in this study demonstrate, these differing ideas of wilderness have historical precedents. Just as physical terrain changes from region to region, the imaginative topography of the wilderness concept is richly varied, transforming over place and time.

For decades, Canadian Pacific Railway photos, advertisements and promotional material shaped the image of Canada as a “wilderness nation.” One photograph in particular encapsulates the way a wilderness image was projected onto the Canadian Rocky Mountain region. Taken in 1941 by amateur photographer Fern Gully, it shows an Indian in what appears to be full, traditional regalia on horseback, against the backdrop of what a viewer might presume to be his ancestral forest homeland [Figure 6-1]. In reality, the figure — Stoney Nat Hunter — is attired in a costume derived from a variety of Native traditions, for the entertainment of audiences at the annual Banff Indian Days, and poses on the Banff Springs Hotel golf course. The land on which he stands is privately owned, and lies within a federal park in which his band no longer lives — and in which even their hunting activities are strictly regulated. The thin tree trunks in the background are evidence of a young forest, likely planted after an earlier forest was removed during the construction of the golf course. These historical realities are embedded within what is perceived by our initial gaze as an uncomplicated record of a Canadian scene. Tourists to the

Rockies viewed similar images as demonstrations of the area's wilderness qualities. At various times, they saw in such depictions a civilized wilderness equipped with amenities such as manicured golf courses, a recreational wilderness with relatively intact forests and lakes, or a "primitive" landscape adorned by non-threatening, "picturesque" Indians.

These various meanings are evident, in a nascent stage, within the C.P.R.'s presentations to tourists and new settlers at the turn of the twentieth century. In the railway company's early promotional literature, Western Canada was characterized as being comprised of vast, uninhabited regions newly tamed, or ready to be controlled by civilization. As it rendered Western Canada accessible, the Canadian Pacific Railway initially enticed visitors and settlers to board the train and travel to the country's furthest reaches with displays of refinement. Not only was the "wilderness" of the Canadian Rockies compatible with luxurious amenities, the technologies of civilization were integral to the tourist experience of the mountains. First-class railway travelers enjoyed sublime views of alpine ranges from purpose-built observation cars and luxurious sleeping cars. As the train pursued its daring passage through the mountains, it asserted the triumph of civilization over the potentially hostile landscape.

Upon disembarking, the most elite travelers stayed in resorts such as the Banff Springs Hotel, which was positioned to give visitors a vista over the Bow Valley to the mountains beyond, while maintaining them in a pampered setting. Similarly, broader regions visited by tourists were designed as tidy, well-ordered landscapes to meet tourist expectations of the park as a civilized domain. Borrowing the idea of artificially constructed "natural" environments from the picturesque aesthetic tradition, the national park authorities and railway company built a golf

course, imported trees, and enlarged lakes to create an ordered landscape that met tourist expectations of how a wilderness should appear. Wildlife was regulated to enhance game populations for sport hunters, and animals brought into paddocks and a zoo for other visitors to easily view up-close. Meanwhile, resource exploitation continued in the parks, with activities such as coal mining seen as signs of civilization not entirely incompatible with the wilderness character of the region.

Similarly, the Prairies were presented as a non-threatening wilderness that welcomed civilization. The railway company promoted its irrigation districts in Southeastern Alberta as naturally productive agricultural land, a “fertile wilderness” full of untapped bounty. Extending beyond agriculture *per se*, this vision led to the creation of ready-made farms marketed to British settlers. Grouped in communities and built along picturesque architectural lines, the dwellings reflected the aspirations of their prospective audience, recalling model farmsteads in the English countryside such as those designed by Loudon. The ready-made farm program supported an Anglo-Canadian vision of the West as an extension of the British Empire, while showcasing the British occupant-owners as a separate, advanced community distinct from other pioneers, who initially dwelt in makeshift homes. Envisaged as mixed farming operations, the farms presented the visual diversity encouraged by picturesque ideals, an idea also reflected in C.P.R. guidebooks that encouraged the cultivation of asymmetrical landscapes around farmhouses. Even though most settlers did not stay and the ready-made farm program was discontinued in 1914, its vision of the area persisted. The area continued to be seen as a naturally fertile wilderness, an image underlying the agricultural use of the semi-arid region to this day, even though massive quantities of irrigation water is required.

As Canada urbanized, a shift in wilderness ideals occurred. Western landscapes were transformed from being viewed as untouched places that welcomed civilization into places that needed to be protected from the incursions of civilization. Bungalow camps immersed visitors in the woods and lakes of the Rockies, where tourists were encouraged to disembark from the comfort of trains, reside in log cabins, and explore their surroundings by foot, horse, canoe, and automobile. This vision of active engagement with nature drew from the elite American wilderness movement, which supported hunting and camping as means of cultivating “manly” qualities that would combat the debilitating effects of civilized life. In the bungalow camps, a balance was struck between log-cabin construction that evoked sportsmen’s lodges, and feminized interiors that provided home comforts catered to a broader clientele. Although the camps remained relatively elite, the C.P.R. built up an infrastructure of roads, trails, and programs to support them, which eventually allowed middle-class North American audiences to experience the parks as a “recreational wilderness.”

A corollary to the image of the Rockies as a sanctuary for recreation was a view of the region having a deep past as a wilderness. This was reinforced in the yearly Banff Indian Days festival, in which white audiences viewed the local Stoney tribe as uncivilized savages, associated with a primitive wilderness setting. Festival elements such as a painted tipi village, costumed parade, and archery competitions cast the original inhabitants of the region as performers of their own traditional culture. In reality, the Stoney’s performances drew on stereotypes of Indian life and material culture, exhibiting the Natives as enacting a quasi-mythologized past in which they were imagined to enjoy a pure, idyllic life in nature. Even when displayed separately from Natives, the

material artifacts that were part of Indian Days — including painted tipis, feathered headdresses, and buffalo meat — held meanings associated with this image of the Indian. The First Nations that performed in Indian Days — like the primitive wilderness landscapes they were imagined to have once inhabited — were ultimately seen as doomed to extinction.

Although motivated by the railway's commercial interests, these developments also had nationalistic consequences. In a 1924 speech to a convention of advertising agencies, Canadian Pacific Railway president Edward Wentworth Beatty explained the company's longstanding campaign to promote Canada's landscapes. Noting the C.P.R.'s interest in securing settlers for the lands that it held, he explained, "it was not [...] till the Canadian Pacific Railway appeared upon the scene that an aggressive, consistent and comprehensive advertising campaign for the colonization of Canada was planned and directed from Canada itself." Beatty stated that since 1881, the Canadian Pacific Railway had spent some \$67 million on colonization efforts, compared to \$35 million spent by the Canadian government. Presumably, this included funds for advertising as well as for infrastructural efforts such as the development of the Alberta irrigation district. In addition to promoting settlement, the company also encouraged tourism as a means to attract greater investment in the country. "Van Horne realized that [...] it was necessary to promote the immigration of capital, and that immigration would be greatly facilitated if the monied classes could be induced to visit the country as tourists," explained Beatty.⁵⁸⁷ The C.P.R.'s economic motives were thus constantly intertwined with Canadian development and the promotion of Canada to international audiences.

⁵⁸⁷ "President Beatty on 'How Advertising has Aided Growth of Canada,'" Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 186, July 1, 1924, 20-22.

The railway's campaigns were also closely associated with federal programs during a period of fervent economic growth and cultural nationalism at the turn of the century, dubbed by historians as the country's "Great Transformation." The government, which had taken significant economic and political risks in sponsoring the transcontinental rail link, had a vested interest in the railway company's success. The C.P.R.'s tourist developments in the mountains were thus tightly linked to the foundation of the first national parks, which protected the company's commercial monopoly in the region. Eventually the idea of national parks came to take on patriotic significance independent of the railway. In the 1920s, federal officials saw the railway's coast-to-coast hotel chain, inaugurated in the Rockies, as a suitable emblem for the nation. They appropriated the railway Château Style as an official idiom for government buildings in Ottawa, symbolizing the nation through an architectural style that had marked Canada's cities and settlements as "civilized wilderness" regions.

The C.P.R.'s vision of ready-made farms as natural locations for fertile crops and a productive new society also extended beyond the railway's territory. The railway's irrigation district developments reinforced a prevalent official characterization of the Prairies as untapped, rich ground, a promised land for the nation as it developed through the turn of the century. Farm imagery — and in particular, the ideas of self-sufficient mixed farms and integrated farming communities — became naturalized as intuitive uses for the vast Prairies. This region is still celebrated as the breadbasket of Canada and seen as a place where nature dominates, even though it is in fact a landscape that has been extensively modified by humans.

The bungalow camps were also tied to national programs. The rustic construction of the cabins and lodges reinforced a patriotic notion that the Canadian forests were a more intact wilderness than their American counterparts, and set a stylistic precedent followed by federal park buildings. Moreover, while the program was directed towards elite tourists, the infrastructure it helped create aligned with government policies, instigated by the newly-formed Parks Branch administration to increase access to the parks for a wider audience. As celebrated in modernist canvases by the Group of Seven, a nationally prominent collective that enjoyed railway sponsorship, the image of abundant, intact wilderness areas presented by the camps would become emblematic among Canadian landscapes.

The Banff Indian Days festival was related to a national perception of First Nations as the primitive, early inhabitants of pristine wilderness areas in Canadian territory. Primitivist motifs and artifacts appeared at both the annual festivals and in museum displays across the country. Federal Indian Department officials were reluctant to support these festivals, since they took First Nations away from reserves during harvest season. Nevertheless, both Banff Indian Days organizers and federal authorities were complicit in viewing Indian Days as displays of a heritage past, rather than evidence of living traditions. Indian days as well as folk festivals sponsored by the C.P.R. reduced complex cultures to stereotyped caricatures, casting Indian and immigrant traditions as components of an overarching Canadian heritage.

Despite universalist nationalistic claims, in all four case studies landscape ideals were (at least initially) defined by a dominant elite. Luxury hotels and first-class rail carriages were available only to wealthy tourists, and the initial bungalow camps patrons were also elite- or upper-

middle-class. Accordingly, the architecture of these institutions was designed to meet specific cultural expectations: the hotels were modeled in a style popularized by European and American resorts in the late nineteenth century, and the log-cabin look of bungalow camps recalled upper-class sportsmen's retreats. Ready-made farmhouses and their accompanying property layouts conformed to British aesthetic models, supporting a vision of Western Canadian development as a new Britain, as envisaged by an Anglo-Canadian elite. Despite the centrality of First Nations participants, Indian Days reflected predominantly non-Native views of Amerindians. As these programs gained ground as national expressions in the broader culture of Canada, the largely white, Anglophone character of the assumptions at their core became obscured from view.

Due to these complexities, the wilderness myths popularized in the early twentieth century have resulted in a problematic national identity. At their core, the ideals reflected a specialized interest in landscapes by a select audience. As a result, the rhetoric of Canadian wilderness tends to mask the diversity of Canada's population and their multitude of cultural attitudes towards. Moreover, the content of these wilderness ideals is damaging. On one hand, the resort hotels and ready-made farms characterized nature as a ready arena for natural resource use, justifying exploitation of otherwise seemingly barren areas. This vision of wilderness is effectively a form of technological nationalism: the railway and agriculture were celebrated for overcoming or building on nature, allowing the new nation of Canada to emerge from the barren landscape as a progressive power. However, as historian Andy den Otter has argued, following Maurice Charland and George Grant, technological nationalism has the effect of alienating peripheral regions by emphasizing central Canadian monopolies. As well, this attitude tends to commodify

Canadian cultural identity by tying it to physical objects rather than cultures and people.⁵⁸⁸ Since it is similar to western expansionism in the United States, technological nationalism also blurs the cultural identity between the two countries rather than forging a distinct national outlook. Moreover, it ultimately endorses the wholesale disruption of large-scale environments for the sake of production. This outlook continues in the present-day: the sheer scale of sparsely inhabited areas in Canada has spawned a cavalier attitude to large-scale forestry, hydroelectric, and mining operations that are foundations of the present-day capitalist economy.

On the other hand, the idea of a recreation-ready, primitive wilderness celebrated in the bungalow camps and in Indian Days continues to render Canadians prone to romanticizing the natural world. As historian Jocelyn Thorpe writes, “[this] concept of wilderness (if not the actual sites imagined as such) remains largely intact outside of academic circles.”⁵⁸⁹ As was the case in the C.P.R.’s early decades, those areas designated as official wilderness regions receive a disproportionate amount of tourism and media attention. In 2007, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) ran a poll to select the Seven Wonders of Canada. From thousands of nominees, judges picked the Canoe to top a list including Niagara Falls, the Rockies, the Igloo, and Prairie Skies. Over a million audience votes yielded another nature-themed “top seven,” including the Bay of Fundy, Nahanni National Park, the Northern Lights, and Ontario’s Sleeping Giant geological formation. Natural features such as Niagara Falls and Banff National Park

⁵⁸⁸ den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America*, 9-11.

⁵⁸⁹ Jocelyn Thorpe, "To Visit and to Cut Down: Tourism, Forestry, and the Social Construction of Nature in Twentieth-Century Northeastern Ontario," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19, no. 1 (2008): 332.

consistently rank among the country's premier tourist destinations and have become familiar national icons.

The popular vision of these places as intact wilderness areas (or, in the case of the canoe and igloo, symbols of ancient interactions with primitive nature) is in fact fallacious. As we have seen, the image of "wild nature" in the national parks has been carefully cultivated and maintained since the parks' foundation, through practices that have included landscaping, forest fire management, and intensive wildlife control. This type of intervention continues to this day in the Rockies, under more recent paradigms of restoration ecology, which advocate the scientific reconstruction of local ecosystems. Typical of this outlook was a 1998 Parks Canada plan to re-naturalize the Rocky Mountain Parks. Directives included transforming Big Horn Lake near Banff into a lake barren of fish, as it was 100 years ago, while stocking Moraine Lake near Lake Louise with bull trout, a species that had since become extinct in the lake. One of the more controversial mandates instructed the managers of Château Lake Louise to replace its manicured lawns and gardens with a dense arrangement of rocks and indigenous plants. Some commentators contested the replacement of historic landscaped gardens with unkempt plantings.⁵⁹⁰ Despite their contrasting appearances, both the formal gardens and naturalized plantings entail human intervention and ongoing maintenance. In this regard, they reflect less a definitive "natural" landscape as much as a breadth of visions, varying in different eras, on how the landscape in the hotel's vicinity ought to appear.

⁵⁹⁰ Joan Crockatt and Tom Olsen, "Château Gardens Next to Go," *Calgary Herald*, Dec. 18 1999. Nigel Hannaford, "Don't Lay this Mess on Mother Nature," *Calgary Herald*, July 15 2006.

Indirect human impacts, such as the effect of climate change, are also in evidence throughout the Rocky Mountain Parks, which many visitors assume to be a “pristine wilderness.” For instance, the Athabasca glacier is receding at an alarming rate, as testified by the stone cairns that have marked the front end of the glacier’s toe for over a century. In the late 1800s, the glacier extended nearly a mile further than it does today, nearly reaching the current highway. After a period of slow retreat in the mid-twentieth century, the rate of shrinking has increased rapidly in the past two decades. Global climate change is also creating warmer winters in the Rockies, the perfect condition for the spread of mountain pine beetle, a parasite that devours the water-conveying phloem layer under the bark of coniferous trees. The beetles have decimated large swaths of coniferous forest throughout Western Canada, leaving brown pine trees over entire hillsides. Far from being a sanctuary from environmental damage, the Rocky Mountain Parks exhibit human-instigated changes that are often dramatically evident.

Moreover, while a semblance of intact nature is celebrated within the parks, this illusion rarely extends outside park boundaries. While in the upper observation compartment of the train, I could sometimes see beyond the screen of trees and scrub that lined the railway corridor. Approaching Jasper, this landscape was ridden with the evidence of forestry: clearcut swaths, monoculture plantings of quick-growing species in regular grids, and just before entering the park, a pulp and paper mill of enormous size. The parks themselves are large and industry has now been removed from within their boundaries, but one does not need to go far outside to encounter forests that are being intensively managed for human use.

The same mentality of preserving nature within parks, but not necessarily outside of them, applies to waterways. Originating in glacier meltwater, the Athabasca is a designated Heritage River within the boundaries of Jasper National Park. However, outside the park it becomes the principal freshwater source for extraction operations in the Athabasca oil sands, picking up elevated levels of mercury, lead, and other pollutants before discharging itself through the Mackenzie River system into the Arctic ocean.⁵⁹¹ Sites such as these are neglected when the public view is narrowed to the sheltered spaces of the national parks. An alternative, with different results, may be to perceive the waterways (and forests) as part of much larger ecological systems.

The treatment of wilderness ideas in what I have characterized broadly in two different modes has in some ways mirrored attitudes towards First Nations in Canada, with whom these landscapes have been associated. In Banff Indian Days, Natives were showcased, even as the imminent disappearance of these peoples and their curiously primitive traditions was posited. Similarly, specific natural areas have been valued as park preserves while the overall disappearance of areas imagined as wilderness is condoned as a necessary means for achieving economic progress. For decades, public attention focused on backward-looking manifestations such as annual Indian festivals rather than the more complex and problematic realities of First Nations life on reserves. In a similar way, much attention today is devoted to the preservation of national parks and little to the much more widespread and insidious impact of non-urban industrial developments on landscapes.

⁵⁹¹ Josh Wingrove, "Elevated Levels of Toxins Found in Athabasca River," *The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 30 2010.

In recent years, calls have been emerging from the Canadian academic community for a new approach to environmental philosophy based on an informed understanding of interactions between living communities, landscapes, industry, and history. The most direct arena for this inquiry has been the growing field of environmental history. Many investigations have examined regions assumed to be intact wilderness regions, revealing them to have much more complex histories. To name just a few examples, Liza Piper's examination of the intensive twentieth-century development of sub-arctic Canada chronicles the industrial uses of an unfamiliar region, assumed to be an unmarked wilderness by most Canadians.⁵⁹² Jocelyn Thorpe's work on the Temagami region in Ontario reveals how the social construction of this region as a wilderness for forestry and tourism obscured its earlier identity as a homeland for the Teme-Augama Anishinabe First Nation.⁵⁹³ These and other studies challenge the popular notion of wilderness as a series of untouched, pristine areas free from human influence, revealing it instead to be a richly problematic concept.

Other fields of scholarship have also taken interest in the question of wilderness. Contemporary artists and art historians are engaged in dismantling the mystique built up around wilderness art. The recent volume *Beyond Wilderness* gathers essays that historicize the romantic assumptions of the wilderness idea as embodied by the Group of Seven's oeuvre, along with artistic works

⁵⁹² Liza Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

⁵⁹³ Thorpe, "To Visit and to Cut Down: Tourism, Forestry, and the Social Construction of Nature in Twentieth-Century Northeastern Ontario."

that question its contemporary applications. “The writers and artists we have chosen to bring together in the book [...] have in one way or another all challenged the myth of wilderness by offering counter-narratives and counter-images of a ‘post-wilderness’ landscape and its social relations,” explain editors John O’Brian and Peter White.⁵⁹⁴ Selections range from essays by Anne Whitelaw, Joyce Zemans, and Lynda Jessup examining the institutional backing of the Group of Seven, to stills from First Nations artist Rebecca Belmore’s performance *Speaking to their Mother*, which used an enormous megaphone to symbolically re-inscribe Native oral traditions across different Canadian landscapes.

To suggest that we discard the concept of “wilderness” because it is so problematic would be impractical, let alone highly irresponsible: the term “wilderness” is in wide usage and will go on being employed, with or without scholarly appraisal. The more responsible approach is to ask how the concept might be rehabilitated. Having explored some of the complexities of the wilderness concept in history, we might begin to ask what a more just, less destructive notion of wilderness might look like. Political philosopher John Raulston Saul, who has called for rethinking Canadian attitudes towards the environment, and implicitly, its resource-rich landscapes, offers one avenue of possibility. Saul suggests adopting a strategy inspired by indigenous understandings of complex interrelationships with the natural world, which take into account the particularities of Canadian history and geography. He insists that this outlook might make use of the utilitarian, while avoiding being dominated by it. “The environmental situation and the debate around it illustrate perfectly how Canada limits itself through its addiction to

⁵⁹⁴ O’Brian and White, *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art*, 5.

imported myths and its denial of any historical originality,” writes Saul. Quoting from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples of 1996, he observes:

The Aboriginal relationship has the great strength of being centered on place rather than humans, and of taking a holistic or balanced approach. This is not a policy. It is a world view. It is a philosophy centred on how things are interconnected, how ‘problems arise from interrelated causes, not a single cause, [so that] solutions must therefore be holistic and multifaceted as well.’ This is not romantic. It is practical and realistic. It deals with the world as it really works.⁵⁹⁵

Another step towards acknowledging the complex realities of wilderness may be found in the recently unveiled policy for a new addition to the national park system. In 2010, the Mealy Mountains in eastern Labrador were designated as a reserve. Unlike all other national parks, Mealy Mountains will grant continued hunting rights to both Native and non-Native residents, without the type of sunset clause that has been applied to such rights in the past. Based on dialogues with local communities, the decision recognizes the traditional livelihood of residents, particularly the Innu and Inuit who have been part of the ecosystem for thousands of years.

The value of this solution lies ultimately in its recognition of the needs and history of a particular locale. However, what also emerges is an apparent willingness to question the presumption that the new national park constitutes a “wilderness” devoid of human subsistence activities. Rather, in a reversal of the anti-hunting policies implemented in the Rocky Mountain Parks early in the twentieth century, the full rights of local First Nations for residence and hunting in the region have been explicitly maintained.

⁵⁹⁵ John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 81-88.

A recent event in Banff National Park also offers hope for a new concept of wilderness, which acknowledges and celebrates the active involvement of present-day First Nations. On November 25, 2010, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the Stoney Nakoda People and the Banff National Park Agency. The document, a first of its kind between a First Nation and a federal Parks agency, sets out a working relationship between the park and tribe, “welcoming back” the Stoney Nakoda on the anniversary of the park’s 125th year of operation. While superintendent Kevin Van Tighem stated that it was too early to publicly discuss the details of future plans based on the agreement, the intention is to encourage an increased level of involvement from First Nations in the administration and programming of the park. “We’re building this relationship respectfully with the Stoney Nakoda,” said Van Tighem. “There is a deep, serious commitment from Parks Canada to do this right so that it will last.”⁵⁹⁶ Besides acknowledging the history of Stoney inhabitation of the Banff area, this sets a striking precedent for the parks bureau in involving First Nations as active contributors to park decisions. Perhaps, it may lead to a new view of wilderness that includes First Nations in a positive and self-determined role.

These observations and speculations on Canadian wilderness concepts stem from a dissertation that has covered a small slice of the vast material available to explore this topic. Rather than being a strict account of built form, the study has employed a mix of analytical and descriptive tools, from architectural and landscape history as well from anthropology and the more general field of cultural history. The aim in taking this approach was to increase the richness of the work,

⁵⁹⁶Larissa Barlow, “Parks Canada Signs MOU with Stoney Nakoda First Nation,” *Crag & Canyon*, Nov. 25 2010.

and to allow larger trends to become perceptible. Each case study might have formed a dissertation-length work in its own right, but at a certain point, research into individual cases was curtailed by the need to contain each case within the parameters of a single chapter.

It is hoped that the material presented here will inspire further investigation. A fruitful approach may be to follow the lead of researchers such as John Sutton Lutz, in searching for personal accounts that would allow for a more in-depth analysis of how the spaces and landscapes created by the C.P.R. were occupied and experienced. It would also be interesting to explore cross-cultural perceptions of wilderness within Canada. This study has looked mainly at Anglo-Celtic and, to a very limited extent, Native perceptions of wilderness. However, examining the perceptions of French, Acadian, Eastern European, Asian and other populations within Canada would doubtless provide a wealth of additional perspectives on the ways in which natural environments may be shaped and understood. Another research route would be to examine architectural expressions of Canadian wilderness in a broader perspective, studying for instance wilderness artifacts in Canadian pavilions at international exhibitions, or bringing the study up-to-date by looking at later twentieth century architecture in relationship to landscapes in selected Canadian contexts. Going beyond the Rocky Mountains and Prairies, other locations within Canada would be important locales for parallel studies to this one. In particular, the Pacific West Coast and the North have long been associated with wilderness ideas, and related research could be performed focused on these locales. It is hoped that the present study will provide a solid base for such work.

The architectural history of Canada remains a nascent field, which has to this point largely focused on biographical accounts of architects, buildings and stylistic movements. This study is one of a small number that opens an alternate route, by examining the interplay between a series of built artifacts and the history of an idea. Together, these form valuable resources as new graduate programs in architecture begin to appear across Canada, paving the way for a wider range of research by emerging scholars. Furthermore, this dissertation hopes to open lines of communication and collaboration between environmental historians and architectural investigators, suggesting new insights and tools for both fields. Architecture schools are becoming increasingly concerned with environmental impacts and environmental historians are newly interested in the cultural and physical construction of the natural world. The history of Canadian wilderness ideas clearly illustrates how the natural and built worlds are fundamentally intertwined, and begins to reveal the mechanisms by which ideas of nature have become embedded within a national culture.

The idea of Canada as a wilderness nation is a deep-rooted myth that has been repeatedly constructed and reconstructed. In the twenty-first century, it may yet be a useful myth. But in order for this transformation of the wilderness idea to occur, the full history, implications, and potential of the wilderness concept must be better understood, and rethought for the present-day. This study, it is hoped, may serve as a chapter in understanding the multi-faceted ideas of wilderness that have been projected onto the Canadian landscape, and which ultimately reside within the Canadian mind.

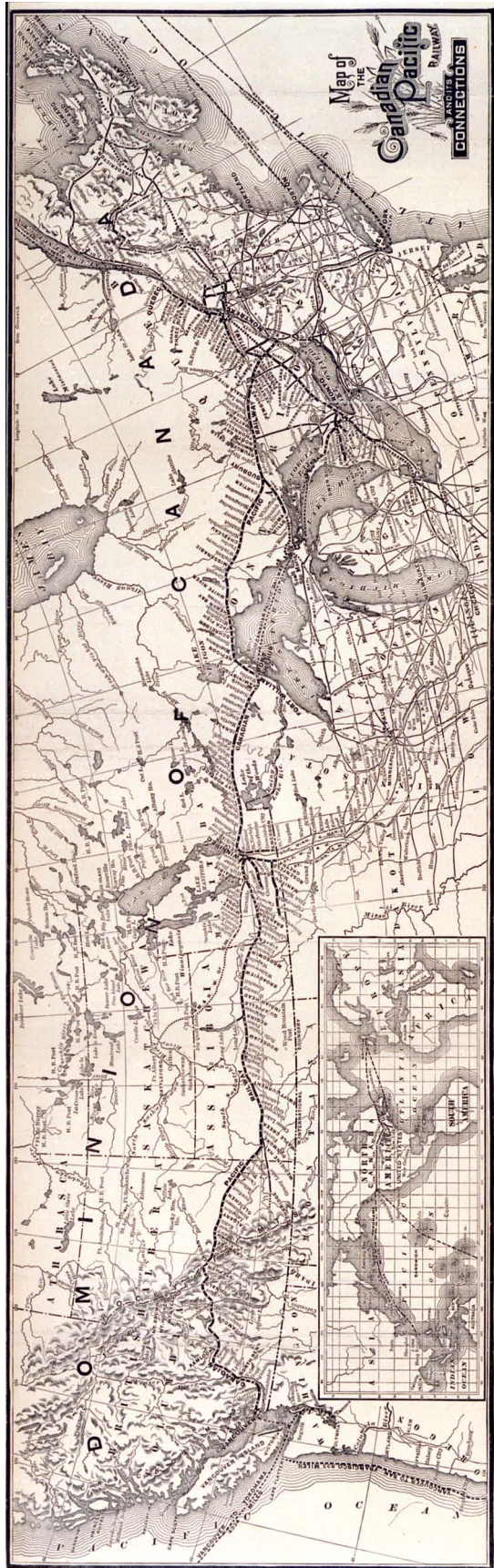


Figure 1-1a: Map of C.P.R. transcontinental main line, 1886. CP Archives, Map 11. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The trunk rail line extends from Quebec City on the St. Lawrence River, to Vancouver on the West Coast. The inset world map shows sea connections to the British Isles, Sandwich Islands, Japan and China, which were possible via C.P.R.-operated ocean steamers. See also detail, Figure 1-1b.



Figure 1-1b: Detail, C.P.R. transcontinental main line, 1886. CP Archives, Map 11. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This detail shows the area within which the buildings and landscapes studied in this dissertation are located. To the east, the C.P.R. line runs through the grasslands of the Western Prairies, traversing the district of Assiniboine and district of Alberta, both part of the Northwest territories in 1886. Assiniboine became part of the new province of Saskatchewan in 1905, and Alberta also became a province at that time. To the west, the railway threads its way through the multiple ranges of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, which continue south into the United States.

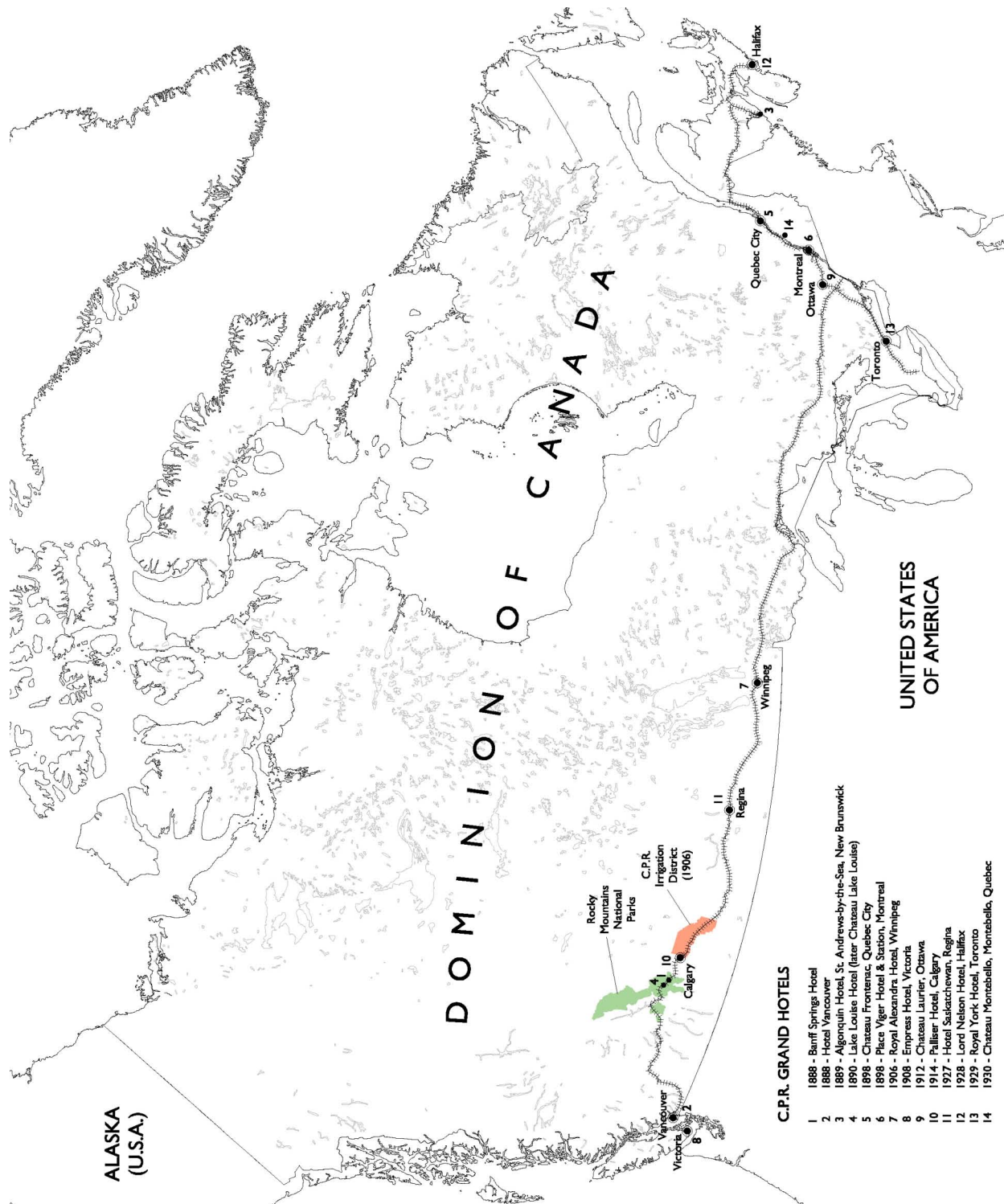


Figure 1-2: Canada, 1929. Graphic by James Mallinson.

This pair of maps shows the key areas and networks examined in this dissertation. Above, the C.P.R.'s luxury hotels spanning Canada including those in the Rocky Mountain region (chapter 2), and the location of the C.P.R. irrigation district (chapter 3).

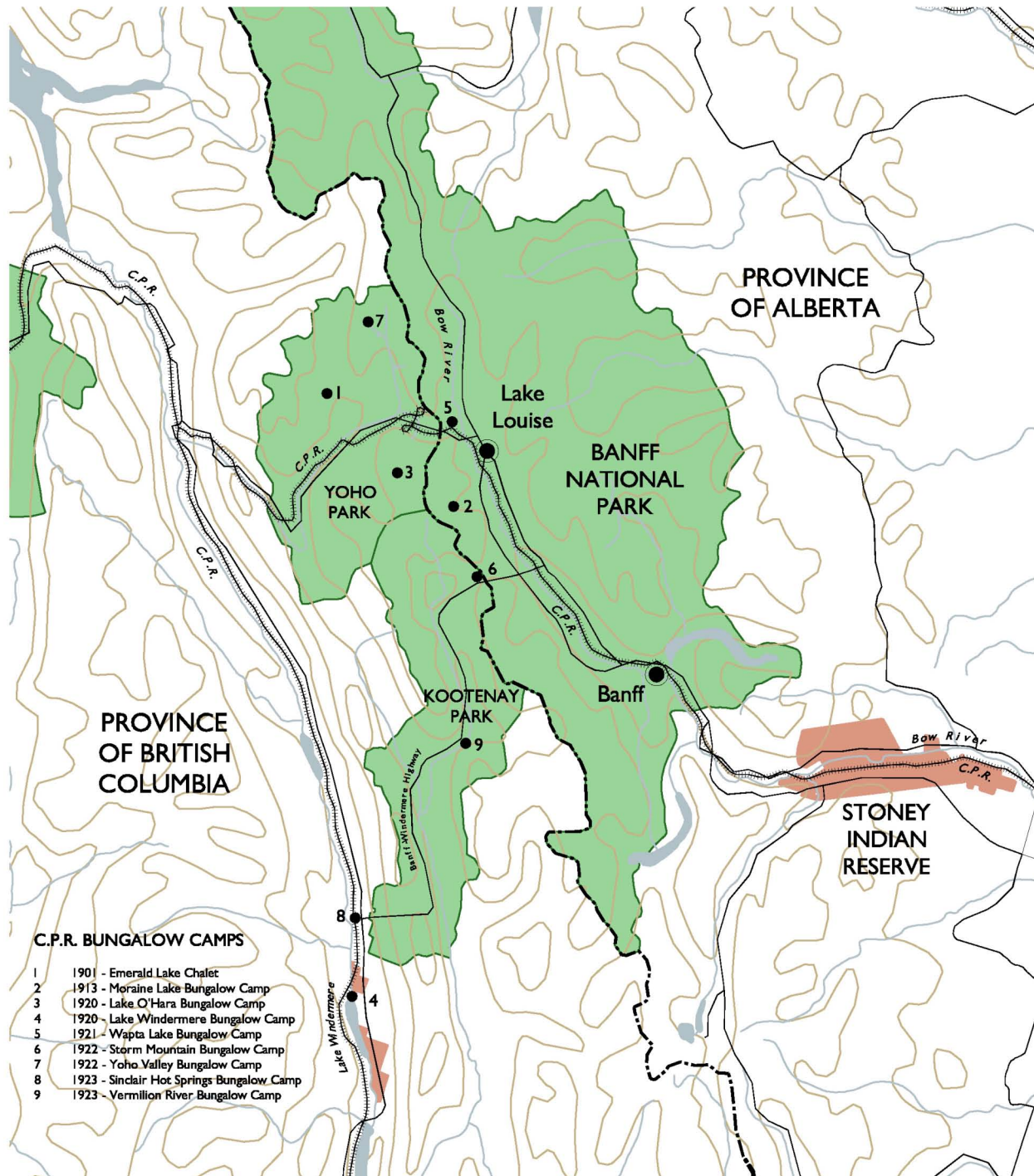


Figure 1-3: Banff region, 1929. Graphic by James Mallinson.

This pair of maps shows the key areas and networks examined in this dissertation. Above, the region around Banff in the Canadian Rocky Mountains is shown in greater detail. Note the locations of Banff (chapter 2), the bungalow camps and Banff Windermere Highway (chapter 4), and the Stoney Indian reserve (chapter 5).

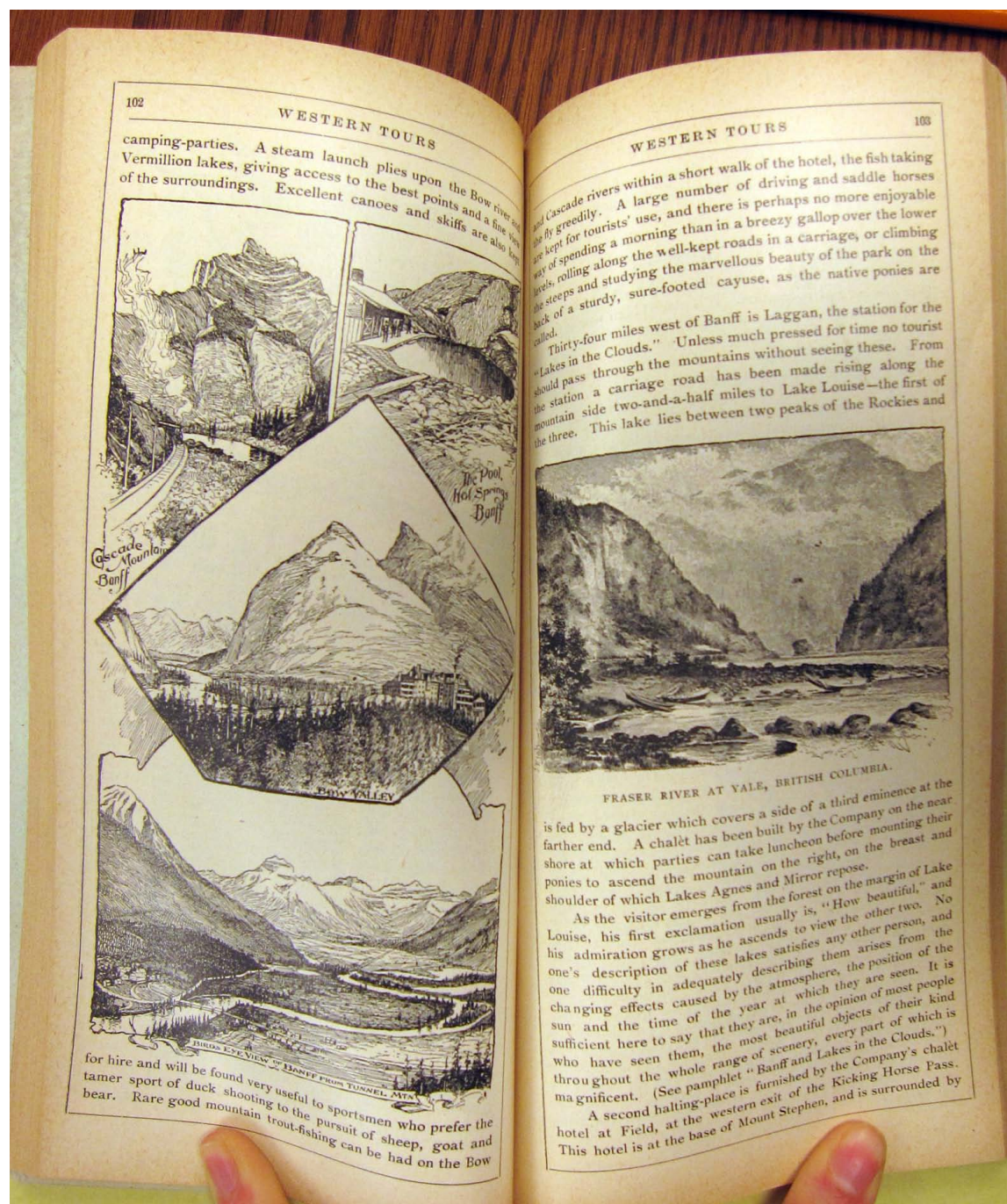


Figure 1-4: Spread from *Summer Tours on the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 1895. University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00093. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This is one among dozens of travel brochures issued by the C.P.R. during the period under study. Note the images in this spread, showcasing the Canadian Rockies as seen by rail, include mountain scenery as well as depictions of C.P.R. establishments such as the Banff Springs Hotel (left page, middle image) and the railway itself (left page, top left image).

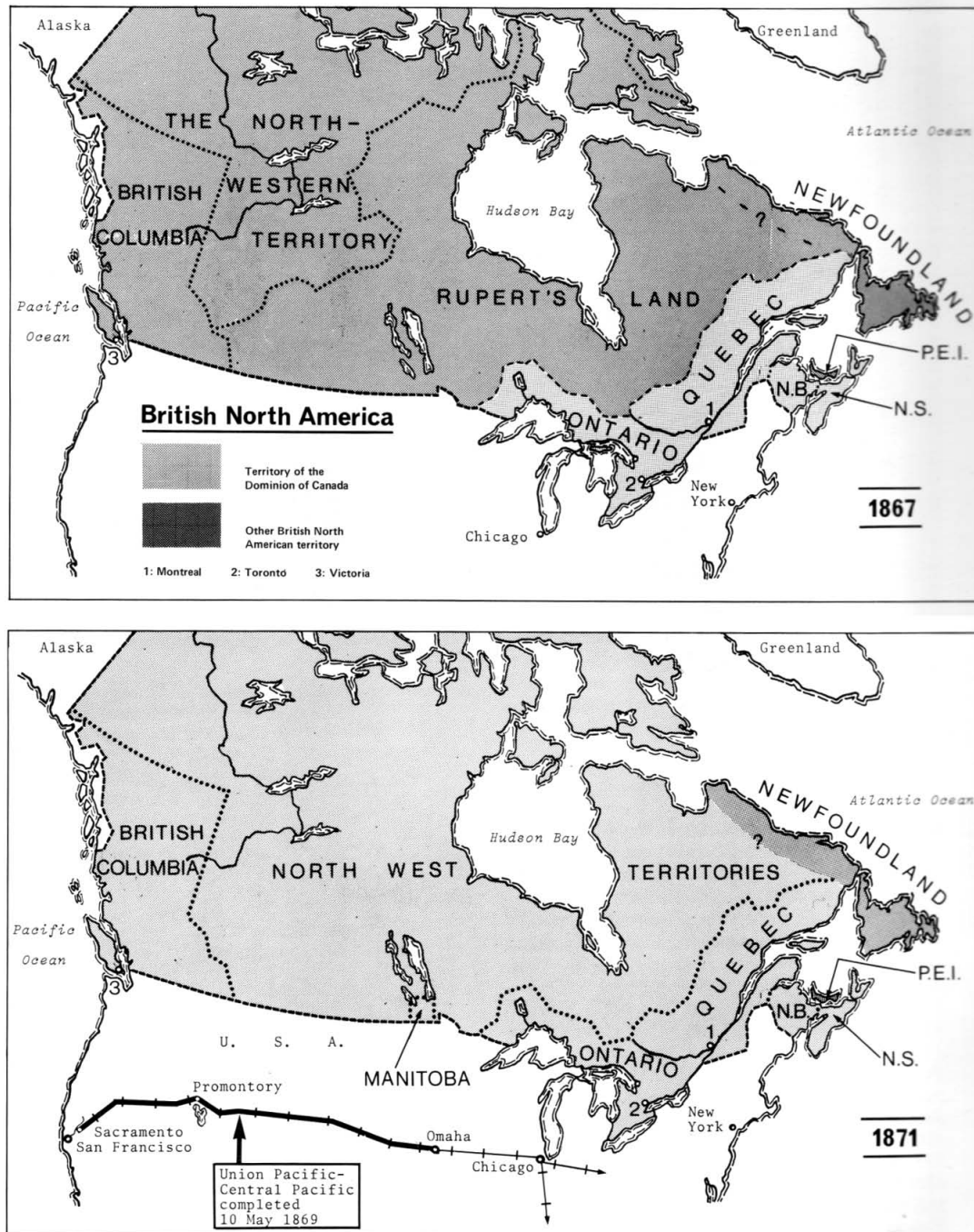


Figure 1-5: Northern North America in 1867 and 1871, from Omer Lavallée, *Van Horne's Road*. (Montreal: Railfare Enterprises, 1974), 12.

Canada, as formed on July 1, 1867, comprised four provinces – Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, all on the Eastern seaboard and St. Lawrence River watershed. By 1871, Canada had expanded almost to its present extent, with the surrender of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869, and the admission of the colonial province of British Columbia to Confederation in 1870.



Figure 1-6: Princes' Gates, Canadian National Exhibition grounds, Toronto. Architects Chapman & Oxley, 1927. Photo by Jesse Munroe, 2005.

This monumental entranceway to the Canadian National Exhibition grounds in Toronto included nine pillars on each side, to symbolize the nine provinces in the country at the time of construction. The gates were built to celebrate Canada's 60th anniversary of Confederation, and were originally called the "Diamond Jubilee of Confederation Gates." However, Edward Prince of Wales and George Duke of Kent were traveling through the country at the time of the dedication, so the gates were renamed accordingly and officially opened by the Princes. Topped by a Winged Victory statue, the monument expresses a mood of expansiveness and confidence prevalent in Canada at the time.



Figure 1-7: Tom Thomson, *The Jack Pine*, 1916-1917. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Tom Thomson was a founding member of the Group of Seven, a collective of painters whose canvases are popularly celebrated as the first manifestations of a Canadian school of art. This image is typical of their work, consisting of semi-abstracted landscapes in a style influenced by impressionism. Their compositions express one prevalent idea of wilderness – they often feature trees, lakes, and mountains or hills, and rarely contain human or animal figures.



Figure 1-8: Group of Seven painter Frank Carmichael sketching at Grace Lake, 1935. Photo by Joachim Gauthier.

Part of the mythology surrounding the Group of Seven was the idea that they were “bushwhackers” who camped, canoed, and sketched directly in wilderness landscapes. These activities gave group members an aura of antimodern authenticity, which was transferred to their paintings.



Figure 1-9: Canada's National Parks, map and detail, 2007. Natural Resources Canada.

Establishment dates of the Canadian National Parks during the period 1885-1929 are as follows: Banff, 1885; Yoho; 1886; Glacier, 1886; Waterton Lakes, 1895; St. Lawrence Islands, 1904; Jasper, 1907; Elk Island, 1913; Mount Revelstoke, 1914; Point Pelee, 1918; Kootenay, 1920; Wood Buffalo, 1922; Prince Albert, 1927; Georgian Bay Islands, 1929. Note that the majority of these early parks (seven of the twelve established by 1929) were in the Rocky Mountains area, between Alberta and British Columbia.



Figure 1-10: “Log-House,” Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, 1846.

Considered a classic of Canadian literature, *The Backwoods of Canada* describes Traill’s attempts to maintain a dignified household within a harsh setting. The illustration of a “log-house” demonstrates what Northrup Frye termed a “garrison mentality.” The house, clearing, cows, and white laundry stand in solid defiance of the surrounding woods, whose dark-limbed trees loom over the domestic scene.

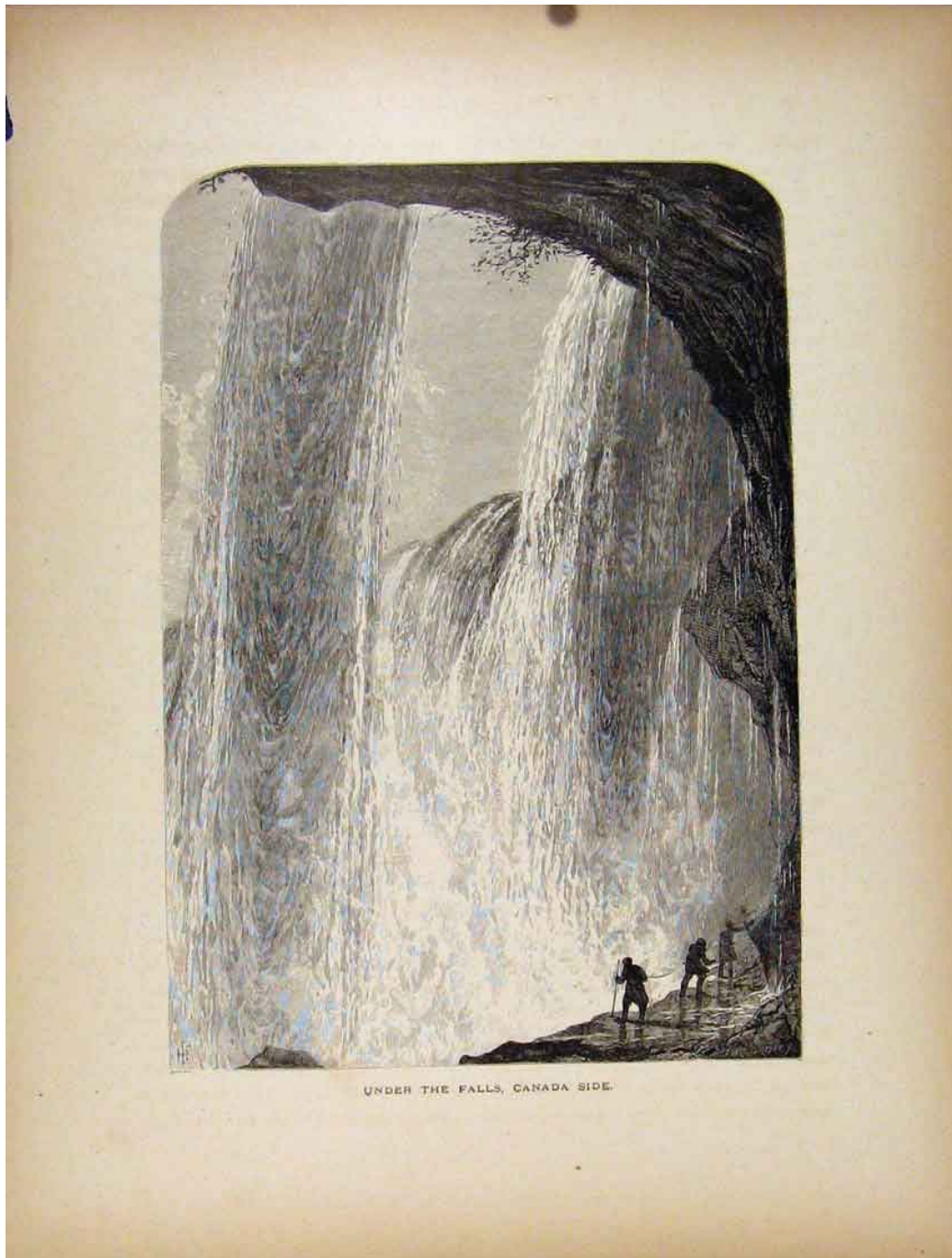


Figure 1-11: “Under the [Niagara] Falls, Canada Side.” *Picturesque Canada: The Country as it was and is* (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882).

Picturesque Canada followed the model of the popular *Picturesque America*, presenting artistically rendered scenes from popular travel locations across the country. Under the direction of Ontario artist Lucius O’Brian, forty-three artists prepared over 550 engraved images for the oversized book.

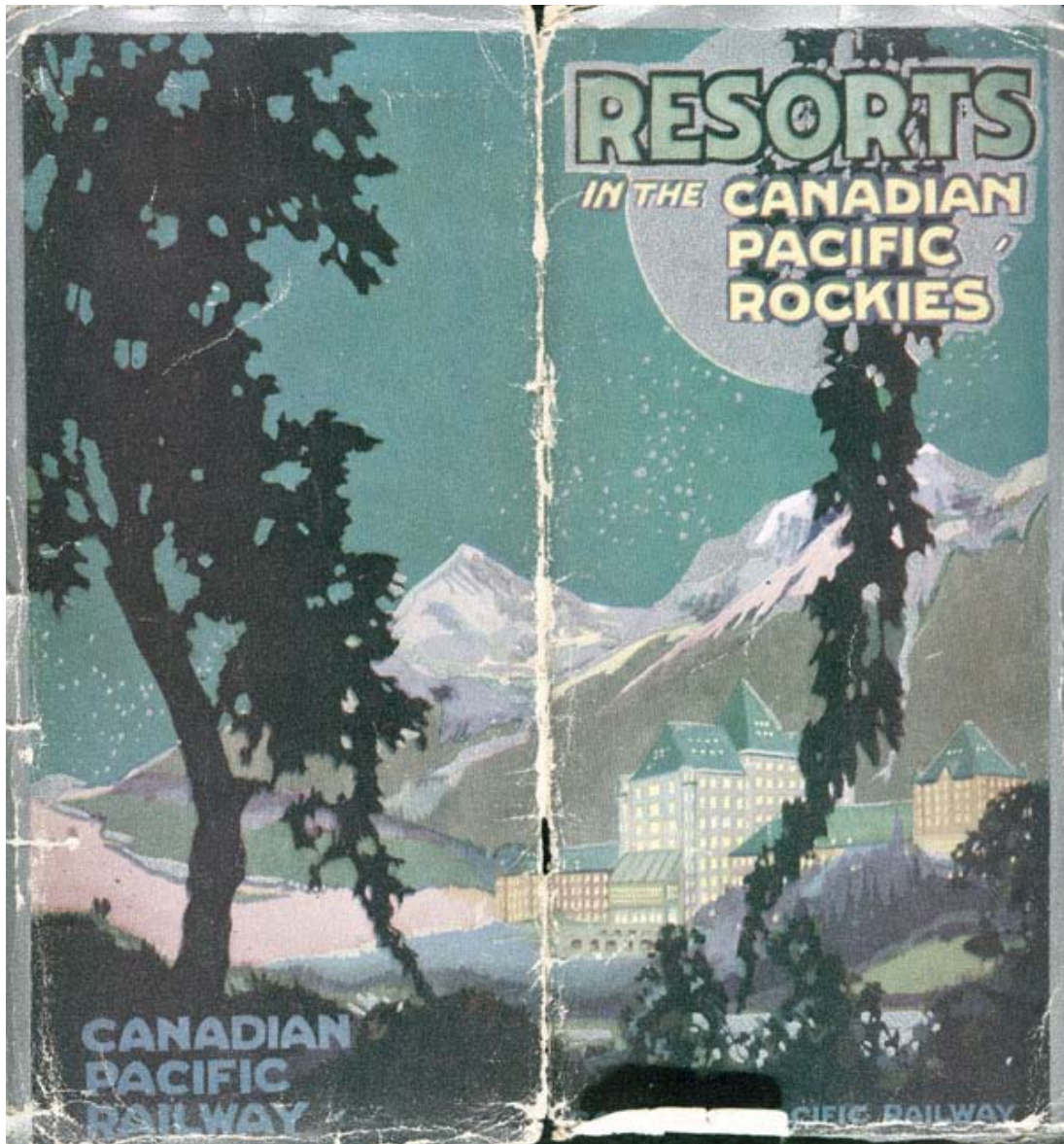


Figure 1-12: Canadian Pacific Railway brochure, 1921. Library and Archives of Canada, NLC003009-v6. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The Banff Springs Hotel features prominently in many of the C.P.R.'s brochures promoting its resort network in the Canadian Rockies. In this rendering, it is a luminous presence in a twilight scene, its roofs picking up the pointed geometry of the mountain peaks beyond.



Figure 1-13: Ready-Made Farm poster, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1910. Glenbow Archives Poster-21.

The C.P.R.'s ready-made farm program offered prepared homesteads in an irrigation district to British immigrant settlers. This poster renders the farmstead as a picturesque dwelling, set in a topographically varied landscape of hills, fields, and gardens. The possibility of mixed wheat and animal farming is also showcased in this image.

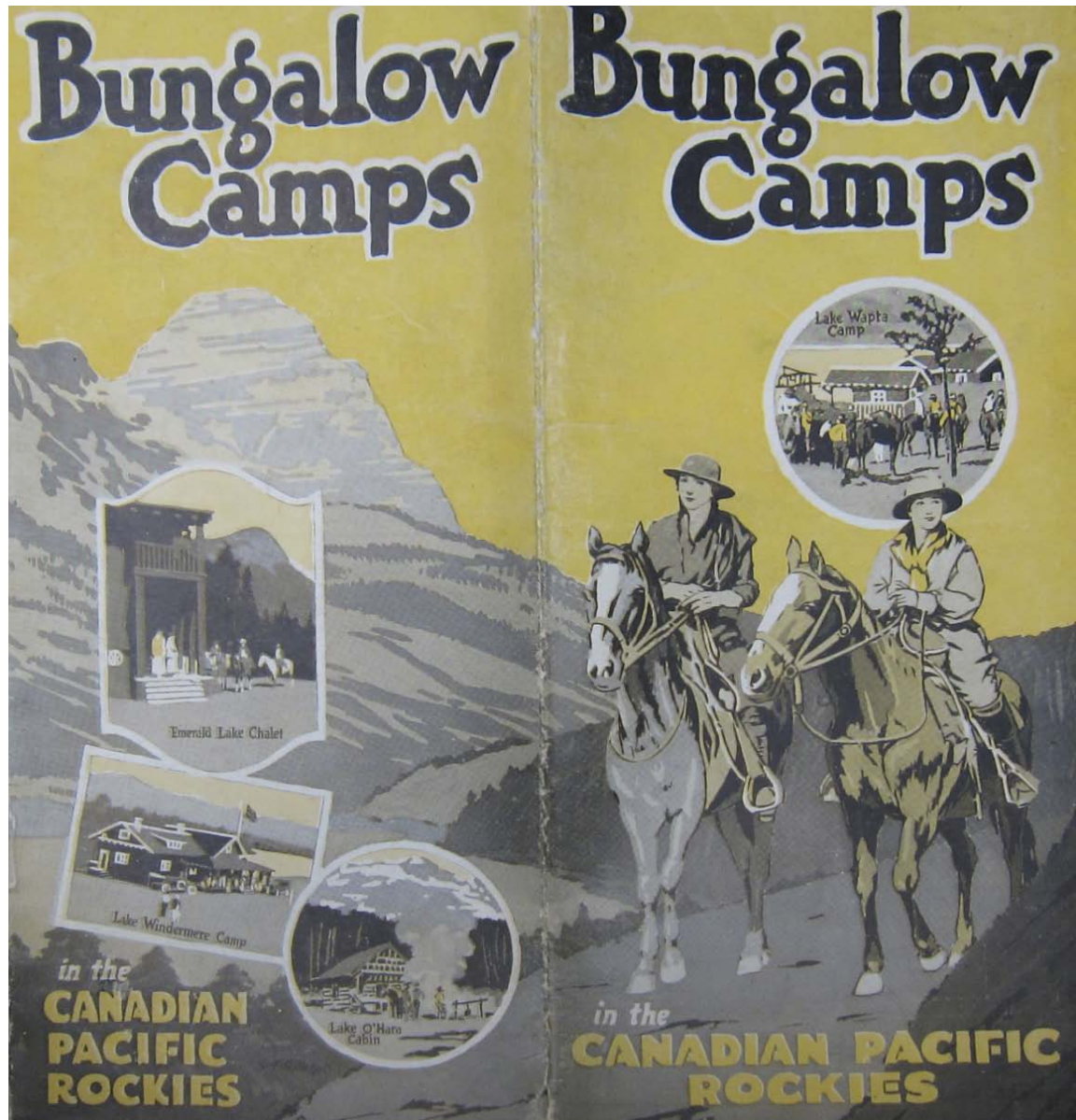


Figure 1-14: Cover of brochure, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1921). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00168. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Several of the C.P.R.'s nine bungalow camps in the Rocky Mountains can be seen in insets in this image. Each emphasized outdoor recreation, but had a slightly different character. Emerald Lake Chalet included accommodations in a main lodge as well as in separate cabins, Lake Windermere Camp had a golf course, Lake Wapta Camp was reached by boat or road, and Lake O'Hara Cabin was the most remote, with hike-in access only.



Figure 1-15: Banff Indian Days Poster, graphic by Wilfred Langdon Kihn, C.P.R., 1926. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The C.P.R. was a primary sponsor of Banff Indian Days, an annual event in which the local Stoney tribe participated in activities such as mounting a “village” of painted tipis, as shown in this image.

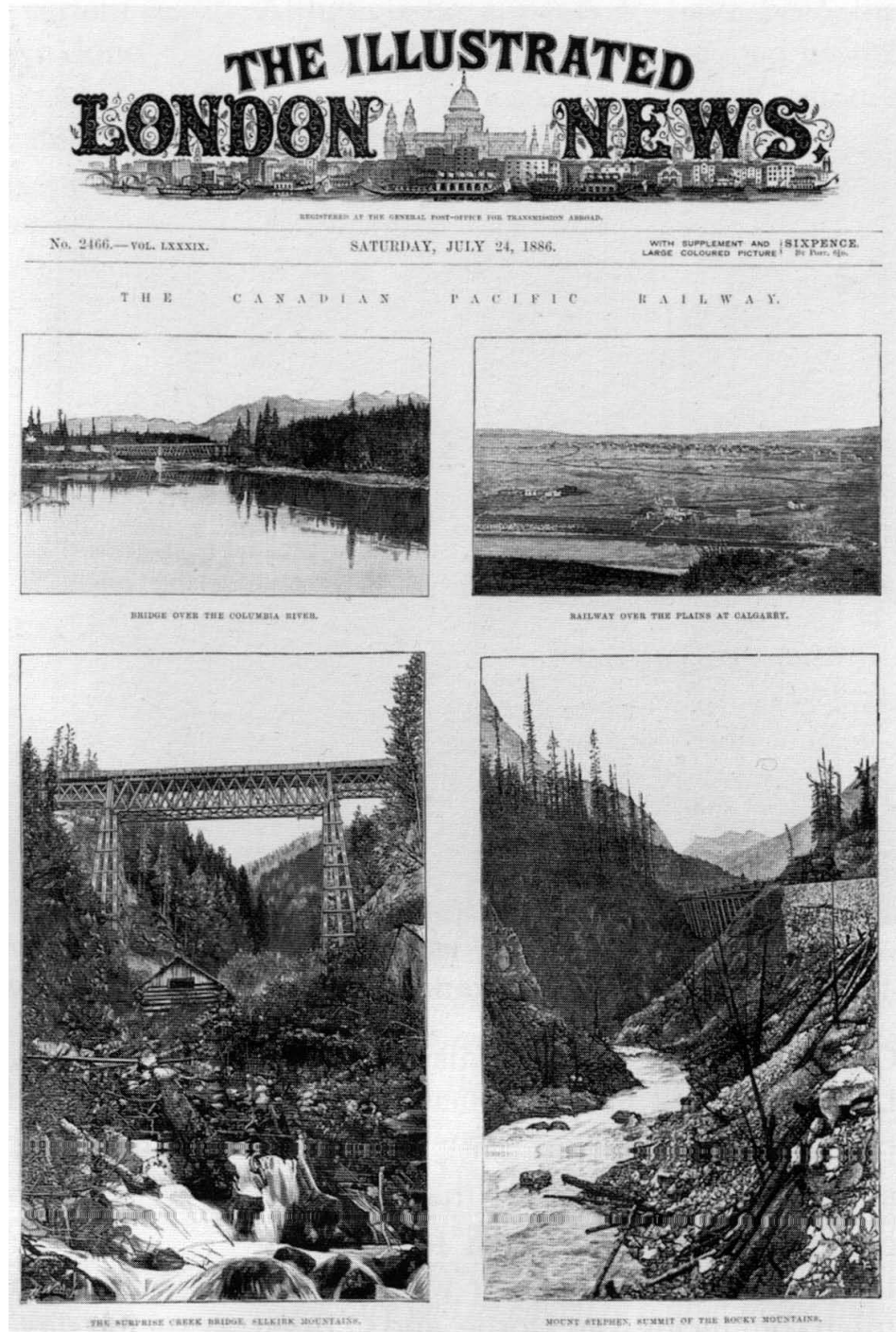


Figure 2-1: Cover illustration showing "The Canadian Pacific Railway." Photos by William MacFarlane Notman. *The Illustrated London News* LXXXIX, no. 2466 (July 24, 1886).

Images by C.P.R.-sponsored photographer William MacFarlane Notman were available to the press, as seen in this cover story for the *Illustrated London News*. The railway is a heroic presence in these four images, the straight lines of the rails and bridges traversing over and through forbidding natural environments.

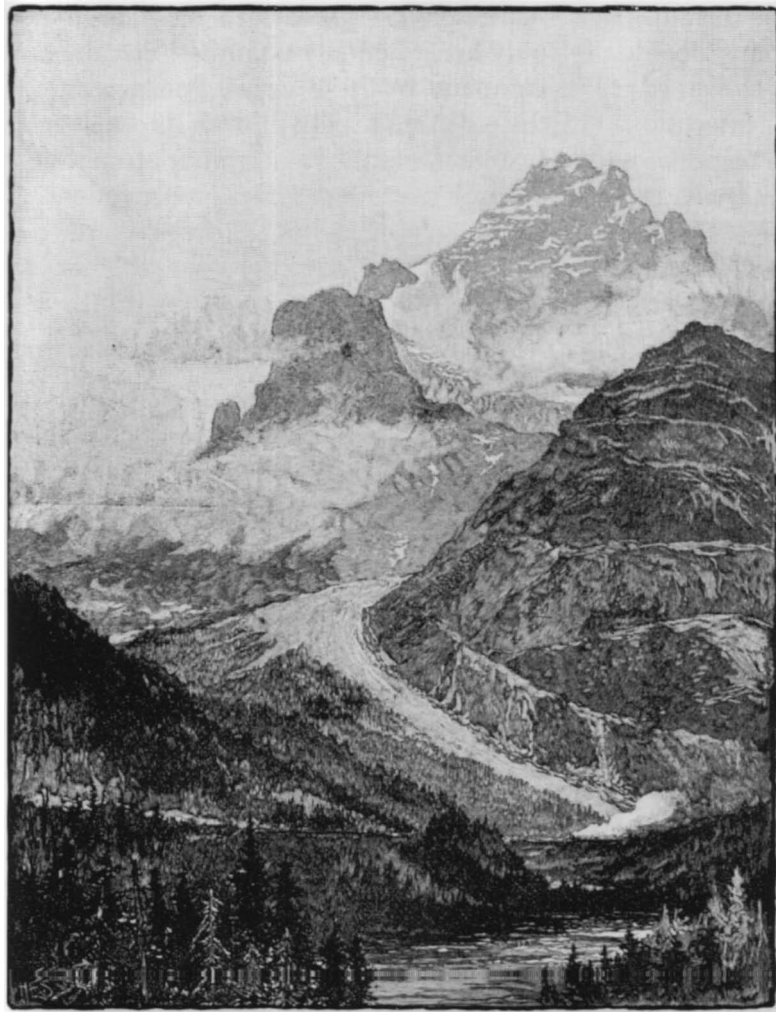


Figure 2-2: Illustration of Mount Stephen, from *The New Highway to the East* (1887). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00106. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

John Fraser's sketch of Mount Stephen, a rare direct commission by the C.P.R., was the basis of this engraving. Van Horne influenced the final outcome, asking Fraser to make revisions to his originals, in which he found the mountain was not "sufficiently imposing."



Figure 2-3: *Mountain Scene*, watercolor by Lucius O'Brien (1886). CP Archives. From E. J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks & Tourists* (Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises, 2000), p. 45. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Artist Lucius O'Brien obtained train travel privileges to create a series of mountain-themed works, including this one, for an upcoming London exhibition.

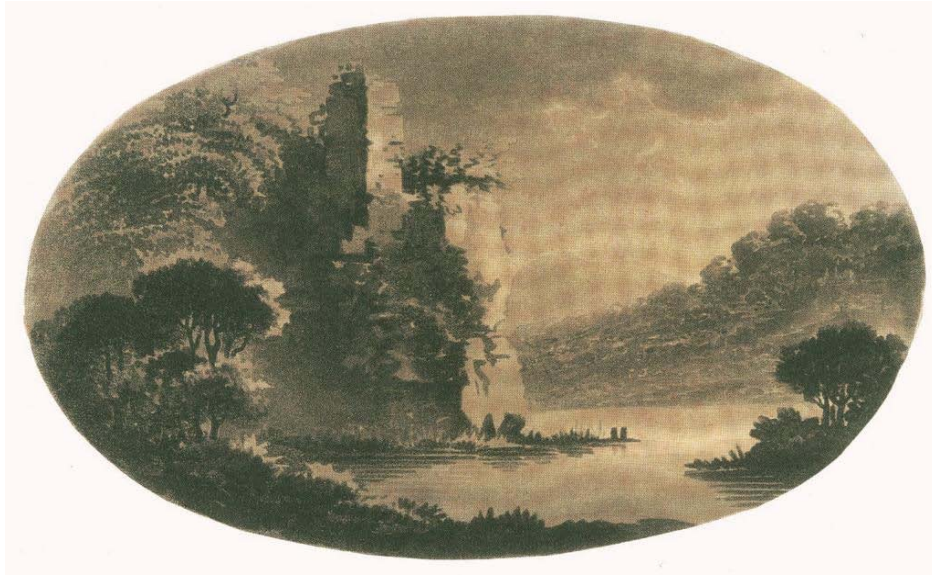


Figure 2-4: Image from William Gilpin. *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770.* 2nd ed. (London: R. Blamire, 1789).

The picturesque scenes in Gilpin's manuscript were composed with a clear foreground, mid-ground, and background, and included elements in a variety of textures. In this image, these include the rough cliffs, soft trees, and smooth water.

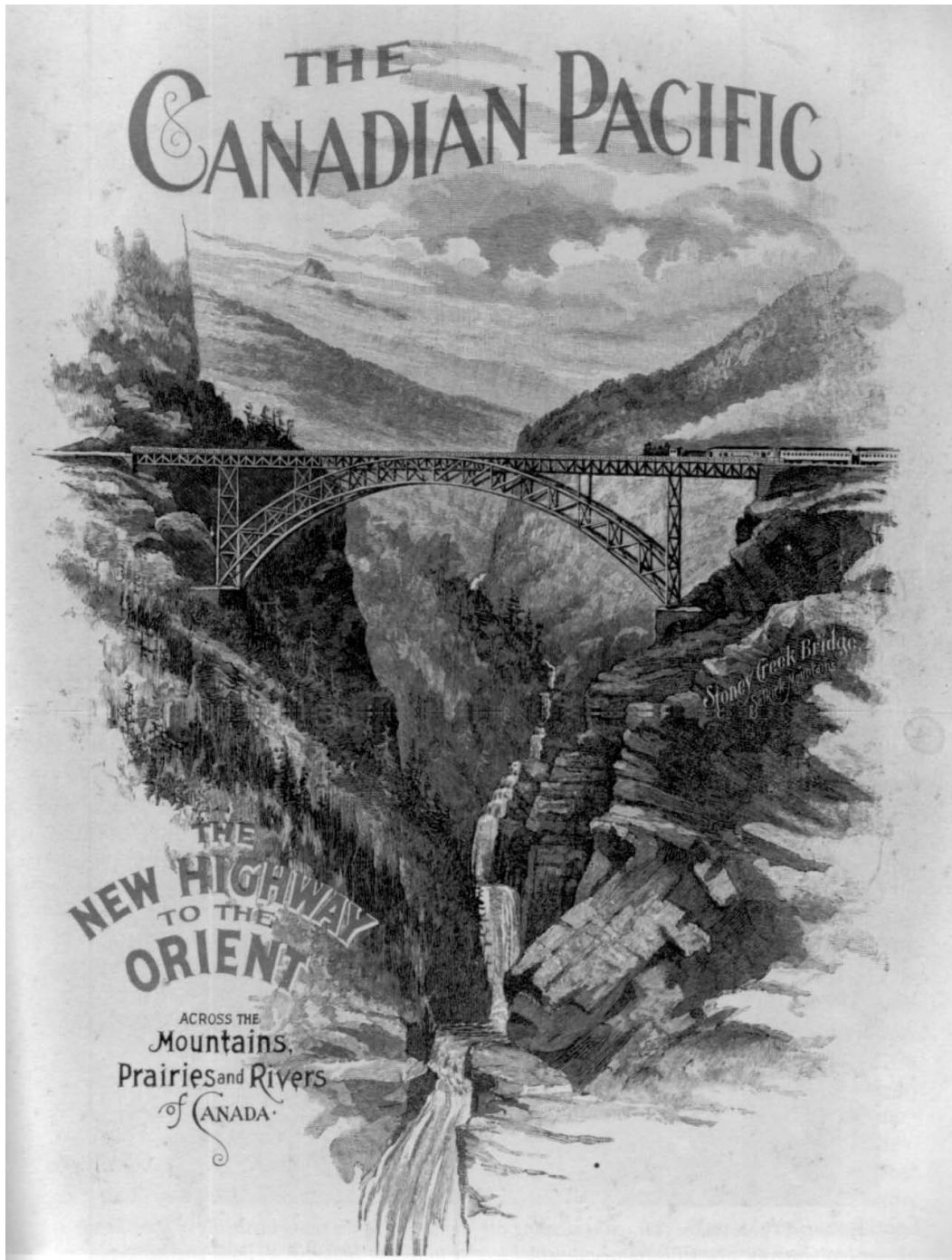


Figure 2-5: Stoney Creek Bridge. From the cover of *The New Highway to the Orient: Across the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers of Canada* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1893). Glenbow Library.

In this image, the railway triumphantly crosses over a torrential Stoney Creek, a waterway that rushes through a chasm far below the trestle. A train travels in full steam over the bridge, speeding confidently through the dangerous natural landscape.

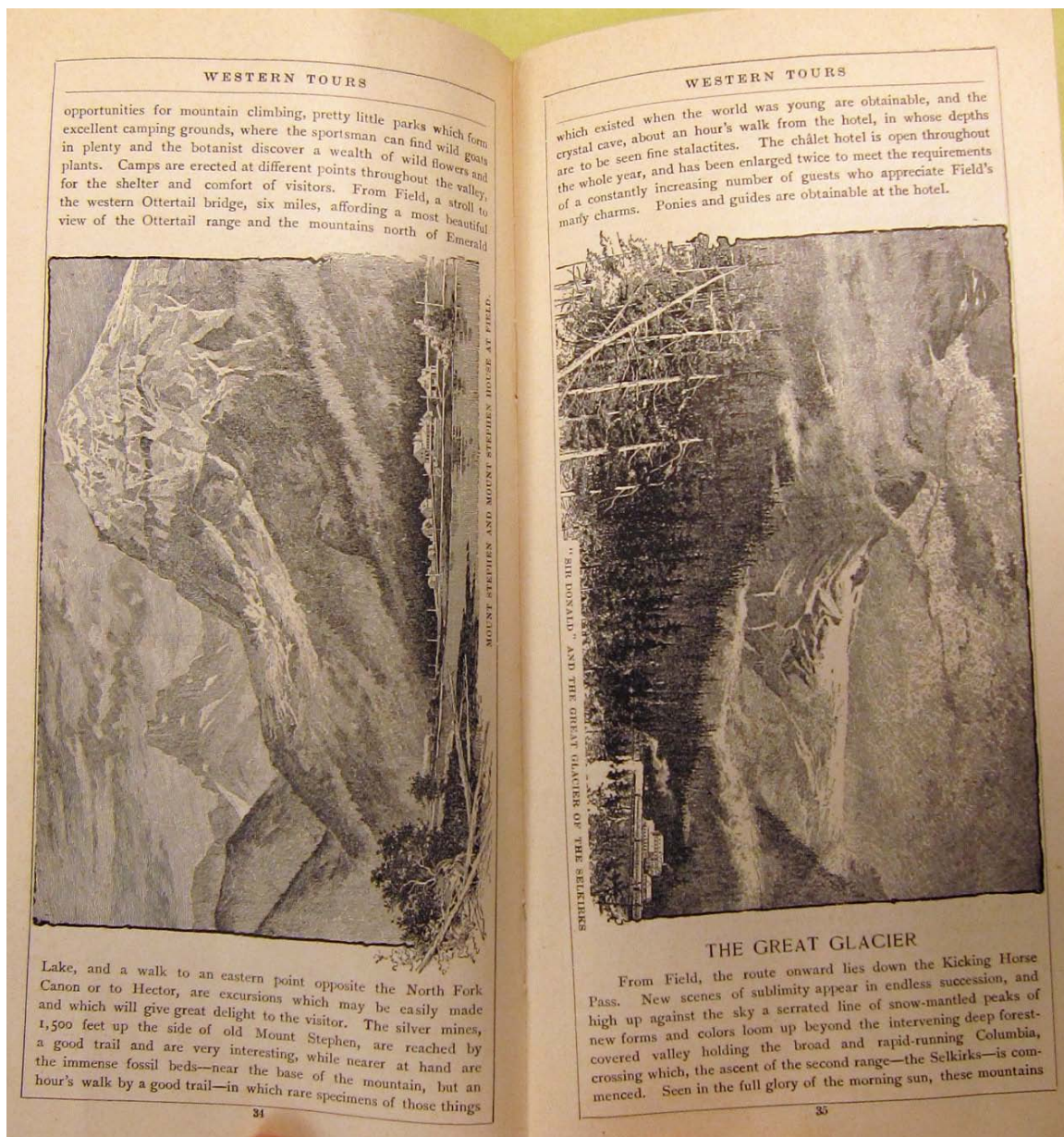


Figure 2-6: Spreads from *Summer Tours on the CPR*, 1901. University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00095. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The mountains in these images are rendered as sublime – they are immense in scale, reaching to the clouds, and dominating both frames. However, the structures at their base – Mount Stephen House and Glacier House – also hold their own. They are sturdy-looking constructions, bathed in light.



Figure 2-7: Snowshed near The Summit, British Columbia, ca. 1886-1887. Photo by Oliver B. Buell. Canadian Railway Museum, Glenbow Archives NA-4967-113.

Snowsheds were built to protect the tracks from avalanches in the winter. The snowshed is the sloped area to the right of the image. Summer tracks to the left were also constructed, in order to preserve views and ensure safer travel in the summer.

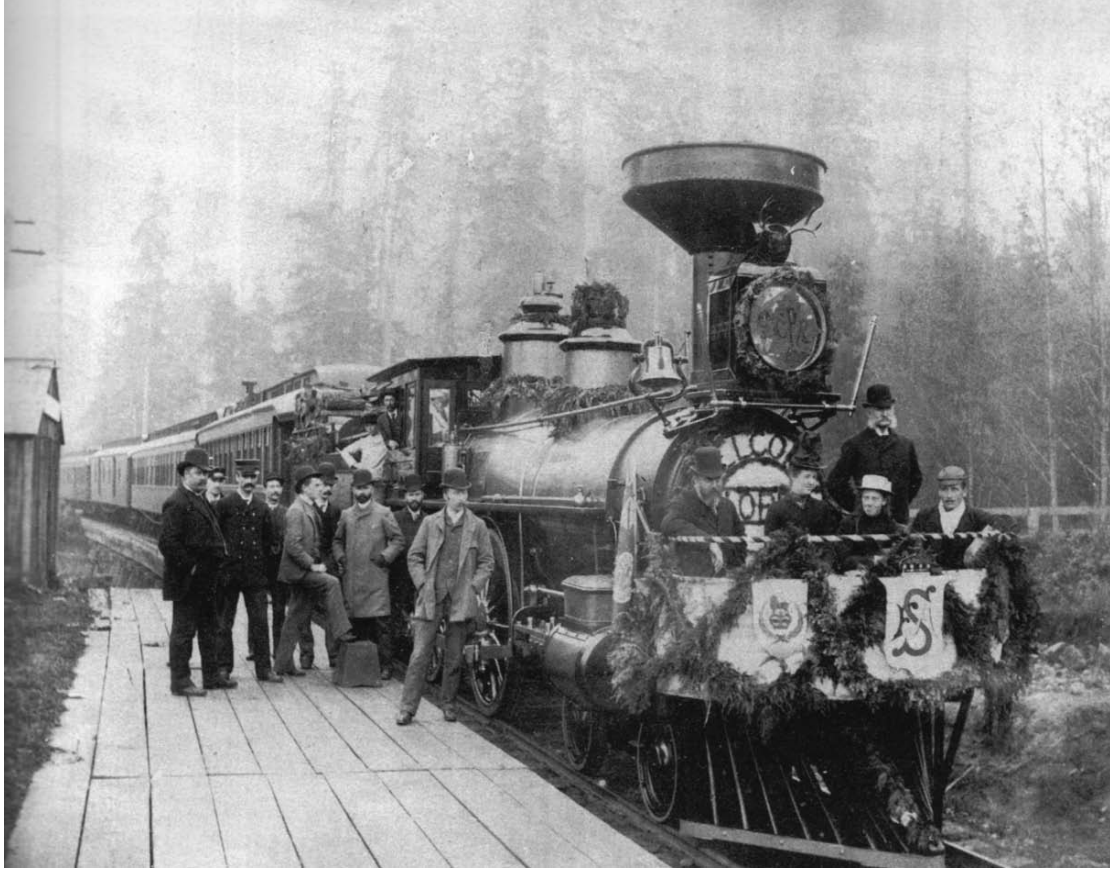


Figure 2-8: View of the front cow-catcher. CP Archives. Reprinted in E. J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks & Tourists* (Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises, 2000), 35. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Henry Abbott, general superintendent of the Pacific Division, stands behind Governor General Lord Stanley and his party in 1889 as they prepare to ride the cow-catcher – the prestigious outdoor area at the very front of the train.



Figure 2-9: Mountain observation car. CP Archives. Reprinted in E. J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists* (Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises, 2000), 59. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The rear car in this train appears to be an early mountain observation car – essentially, a regular car with the windows left out and a small, open-air observation platform at the rear.

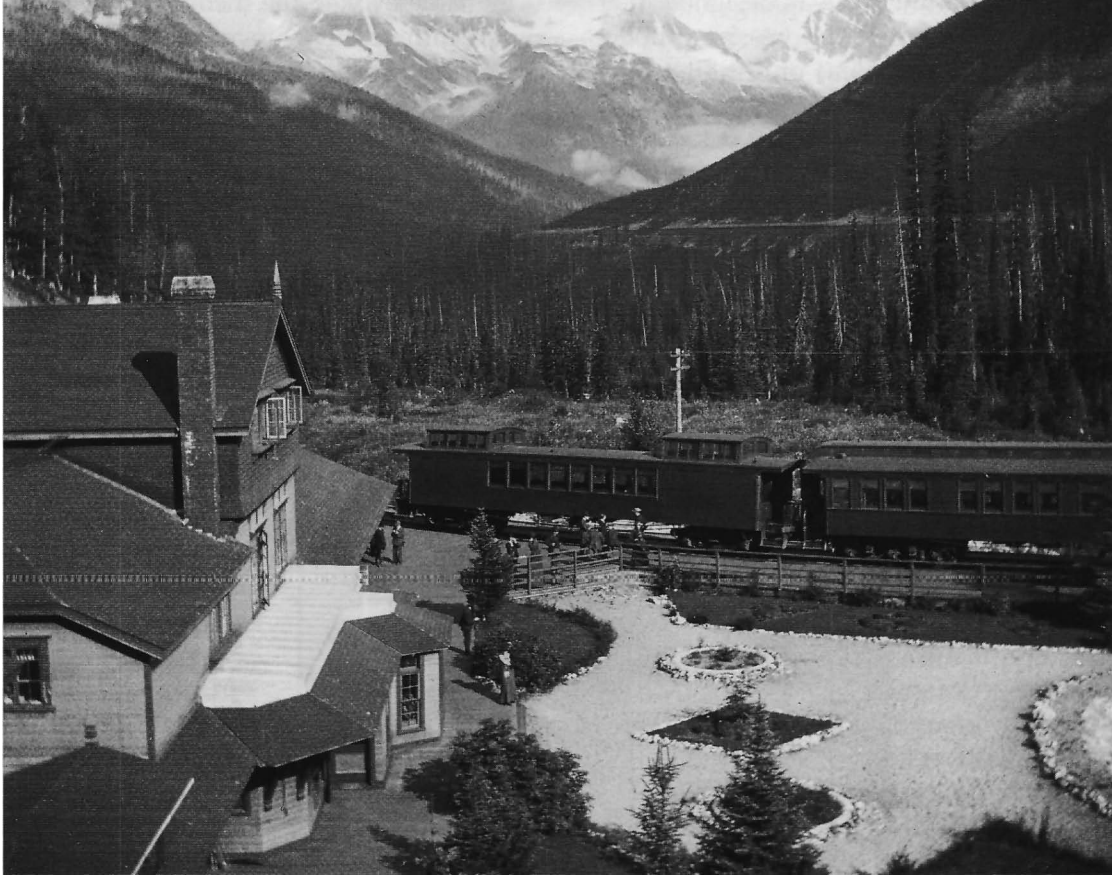


Figure 2-10: Observation car with twin cupolas, standing at Glacier House, 1903. Photo by Beatrise Longstaff Lance. Reprinted in E. J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists* (Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises, 2000), 98. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

These enclosed observation cars were introduced in 1902. Presumably, stairs allowed travelers to climb into a raised area under the cupolas, from which they could enjoy 360-degree panoramic views.

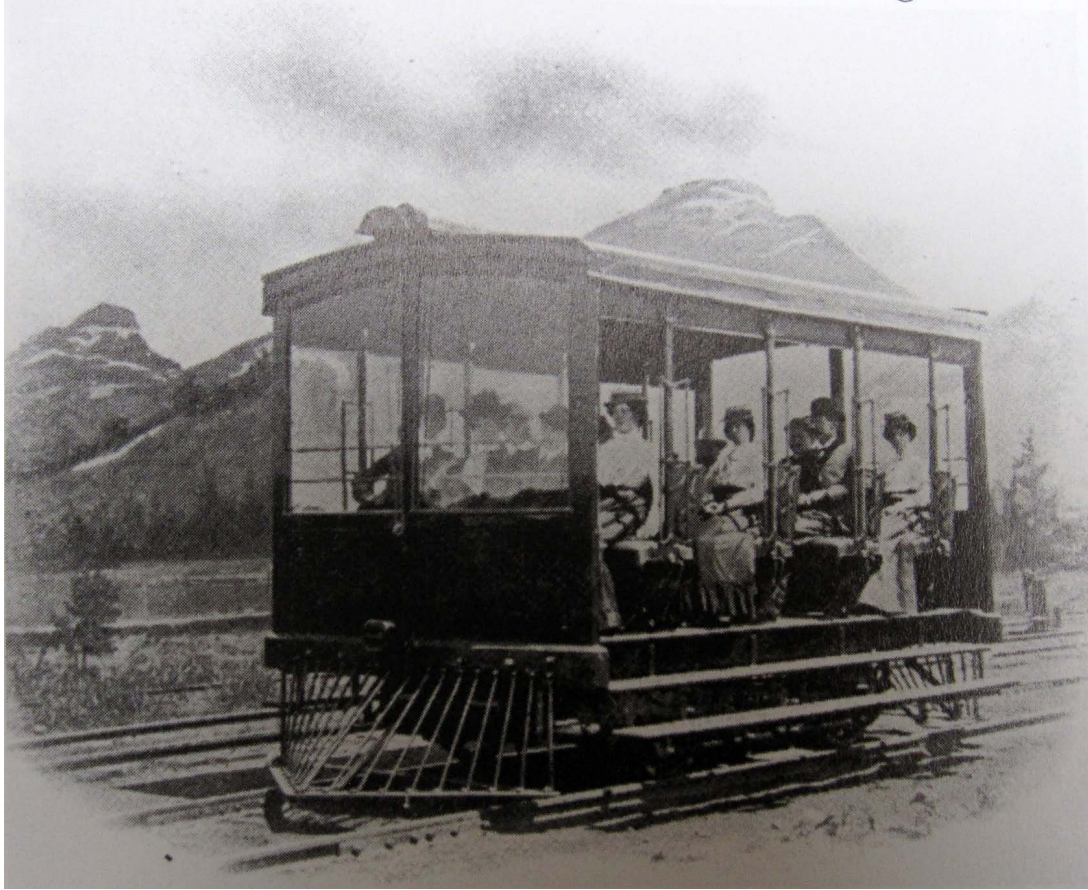


Figure 2-11: Motor Car, ca. 1909. Glenbow Archives NA-4474-10. Reprinted in E. J. Hart, *Trains, Peaks and Tourists* (Banff: EJH Literary Enterprises, 2000), 99.

This small, gas-powered vehicle carried passengers between Banff and Laggan (Lake Louise) station, a distance of some 30 miles. The route follows the Bow River Valley, affording long views of alpine scenery through all sides of the Motor Car.

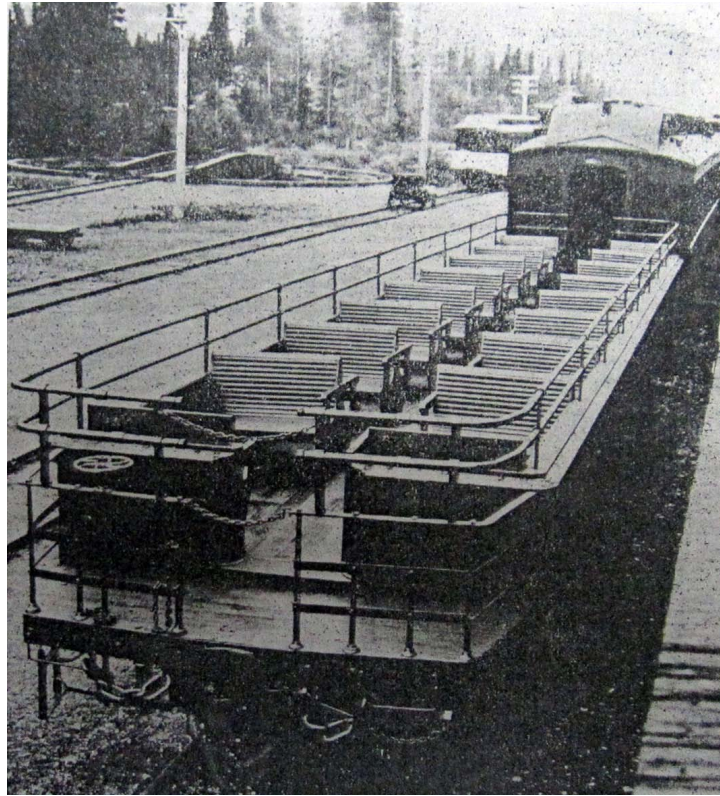


Figure 2-12: “Open Top Observation Car for the Canadian Pacific Rockies, 1917 Summer Season.” Canadian Pacific Railway, *Bulletin* 102, July 1, 1917. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

These completely open observation cars allowed for full, panoramic views of the surrounding scenery. They were made possible by the switch to oil-burning engines – with earlier coal engines, stray cinders could have easily landed on an open platform and harmed passengers, or worse, set the whole structure on fire.



Figure 2-13: Observation lounge car, ca. 1929. CP Archives GS19. Reprinted in David Laurence Jones. *Famous Name Trains* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 2006), 88. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The observation lounge, usually the last car on the train, afforded sunlight and views while protecting passengers from the dust and dirt of open-air platforms. In this image, some passengers are engaged in lively socializing, while others are studying the views, including the two men on the outdoor rear platform, and the gentleman to the right of centre, who has turned his armchair to face the window.



Figure 2-14: Interior of the dining car Buckingham, ca. 1886. CP Archives A189. Reprinted in David Laurence Jones. *Famous Name Trains* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 2006), 16. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The Buckingham dining car, inaugurated in 1886, featured tooled leather benches, bronze and brass fixtures, and thick carpeting. Linens and silverware were standard in all of the dining cars, which upheld a reputation for first-class service.



Figure 2-15: Interior of Rochelle sleeping car. CP Archives NS88. Reprinted in David Laurence Jones. *Famous Name Trains* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 2006), 54. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The Rochelle was one in a series of sleeping cars finished in a Baroque style, with gilt embellishments and floral upholstery. In this section of the car, facing benches fold down to form a bed at night, and additional bunks fold down from panels in the ceiling.



Figure 2-16: Map of Rocky Mountains Park, 1889, from *The Canadian Pacific: The New Highway to the Orient, Across the Mountains, Prairies & Rivers of Canada*, (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1889), 35. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The railway line and location of Banff Springs Hotel can be seen on this map, on the southwestern end of an early Rocky Mountains Park (indicated by a dotted box).

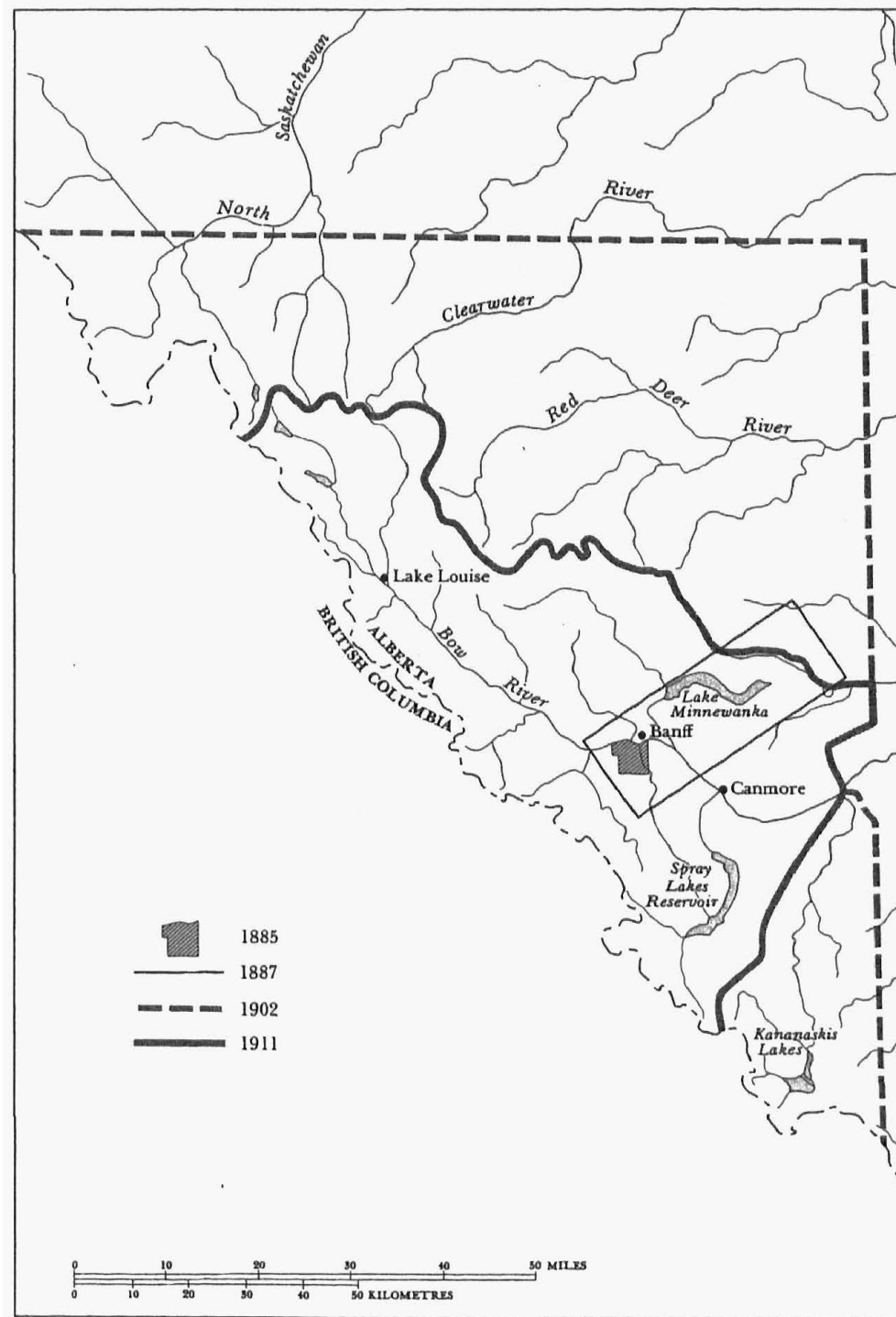


Figure 2-17: Rocky Mountain National Park boundary changes. Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

The boundaries of Rocky Mountains (now Banff) National Park expanded from a 26 square mile reserve in 1885 to a 260 square mile area in 1887. A further expansion took place in 1902; the boundaries were brought into their current position in 1911.

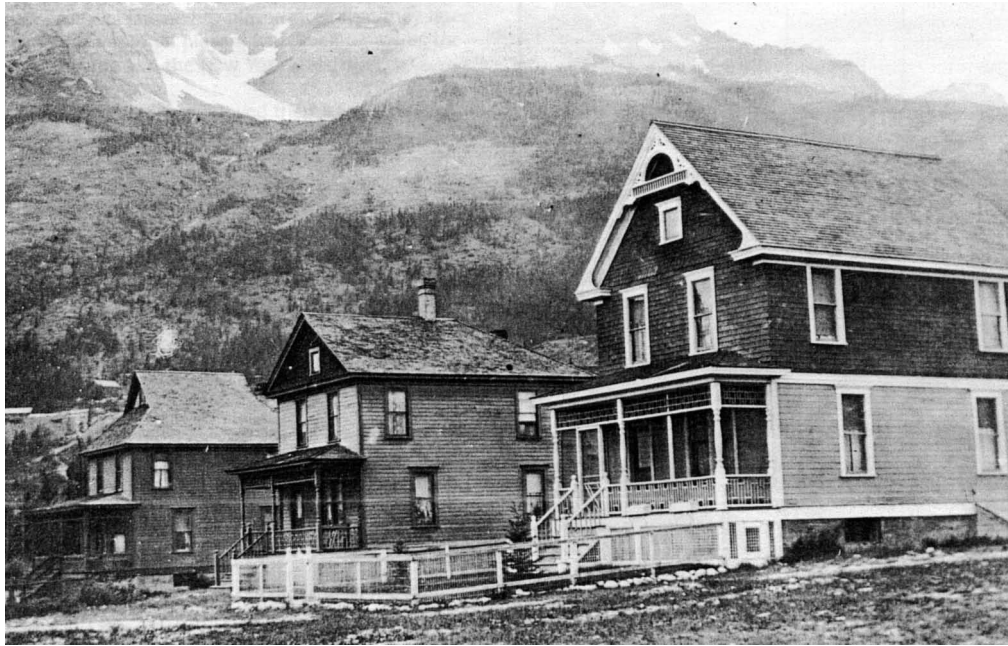


Figure 2-18: Houses at Bankhead, ca. 1908. Reprinted in Ben Gadd. *Bankhead, the Twenty Year Town*. (Banff, Alberta: Friends of Banff National Park, 1989), 33.

With its substantial wood-frame houses, Bankhead was a model town. This aesthetic helped Rocky Mountains promoters argue that the presence of mining did not conflict with the park setting.

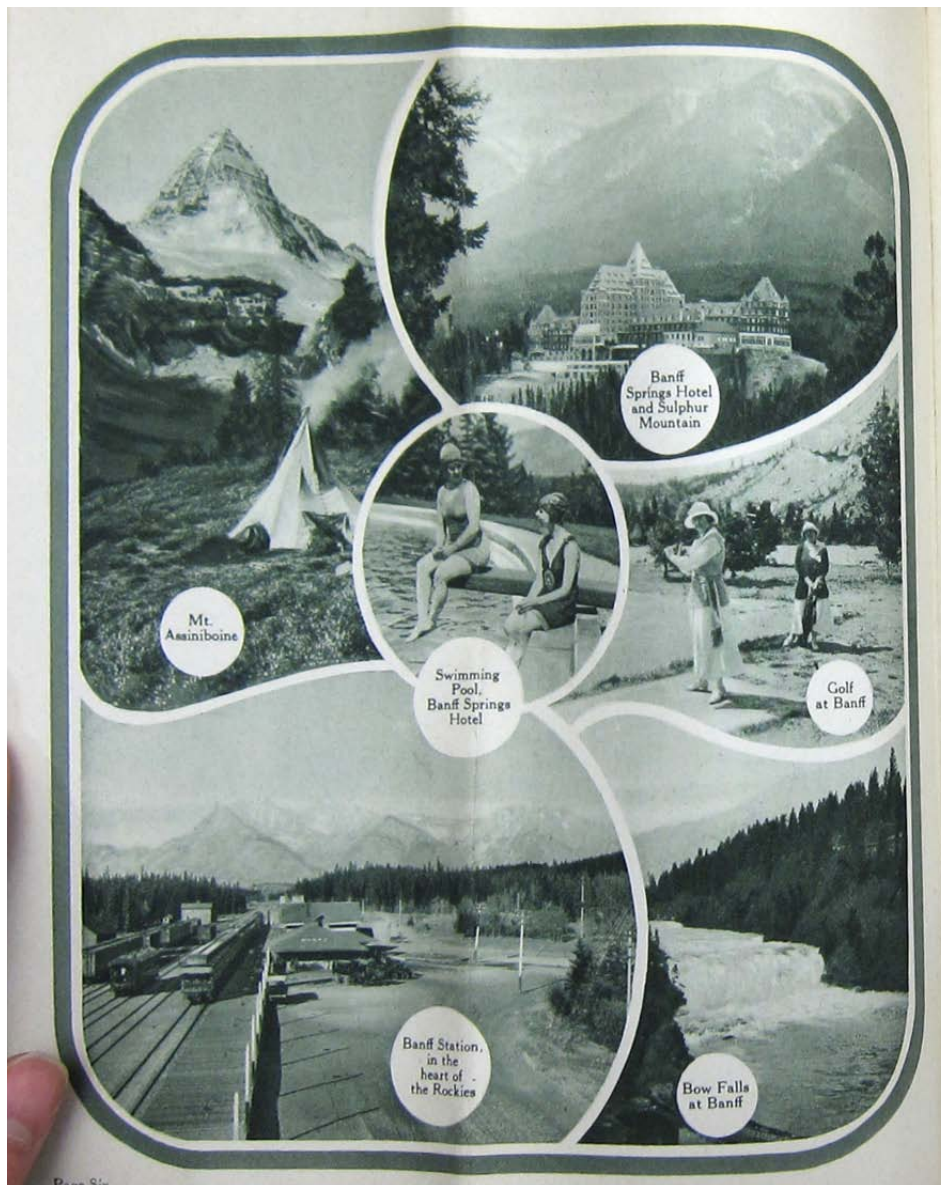


Figure 2-19: Montage from *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1916). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00165. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

One of the most visible ways in which nature was domesticated was in the creation of a golf course at the Banff Springs Hotel. The course is visible in the centre right image, with its cleared ground, tree clumps, and mountain backdrop. Other symbols of civilization are celebrated in this collage, including the Banff Springs Hotel, its swimming pool, and the train station.



Figure 2-20: Sightseeing carriage and buffalo inside Banff paddock, 1908. Glenbow Archives NA-5035-8.

Inside the Banff paddock, visitors could see a buffalo herd, elk, mountain lions, mountain sheep, red foxes, deer, and moose.



Figure 2-21: Spread from *The Challenge of the Mountains* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1910). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00117. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Images of mountains and mountaineering drew parallels between the Canadian Rockies and the Swiss Alps. In this spread, the text notes that “Nothing in Switzerland is to be found more beautiful than the glaciers of the Canadian Rockies and Selkirks.”



Figure 2-22: Fraser Canyon House in 1887, architect Thomas Sorby. Photo by William McFarlane Notman. Glenbow Archives NA-3740-53.

Mount Stephen House, Glacier House, and Fraser Canyon House followed the same construction plan. They deliberately took on an appearance inspired by Swiss chalets, with a low-slung massing, clapboard siding, prominent wood trim, gable roofs, and open verandahs.

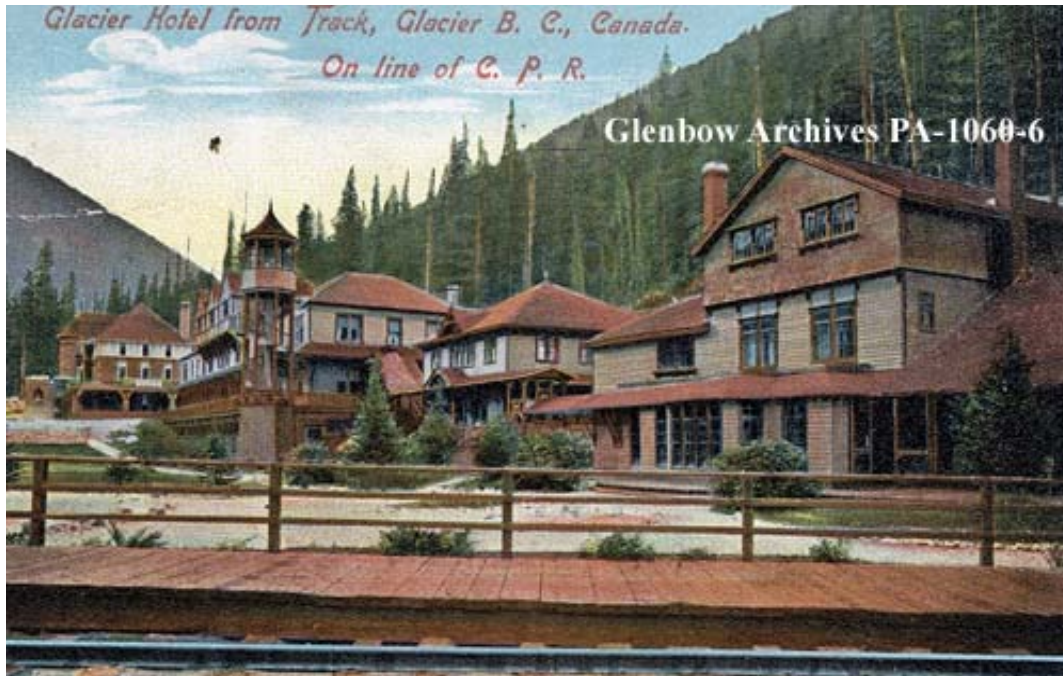


Figure 2-23: Glacier House as seen from tracks, postcard, ca. 1908. Glenbow Archives PA-1060-6.

The original structure at Glacier House, to the right, became part of a larger complex with the addition of the rear buildings in 1892 and 1904. These accommodated an increased number of guests at the popular location.

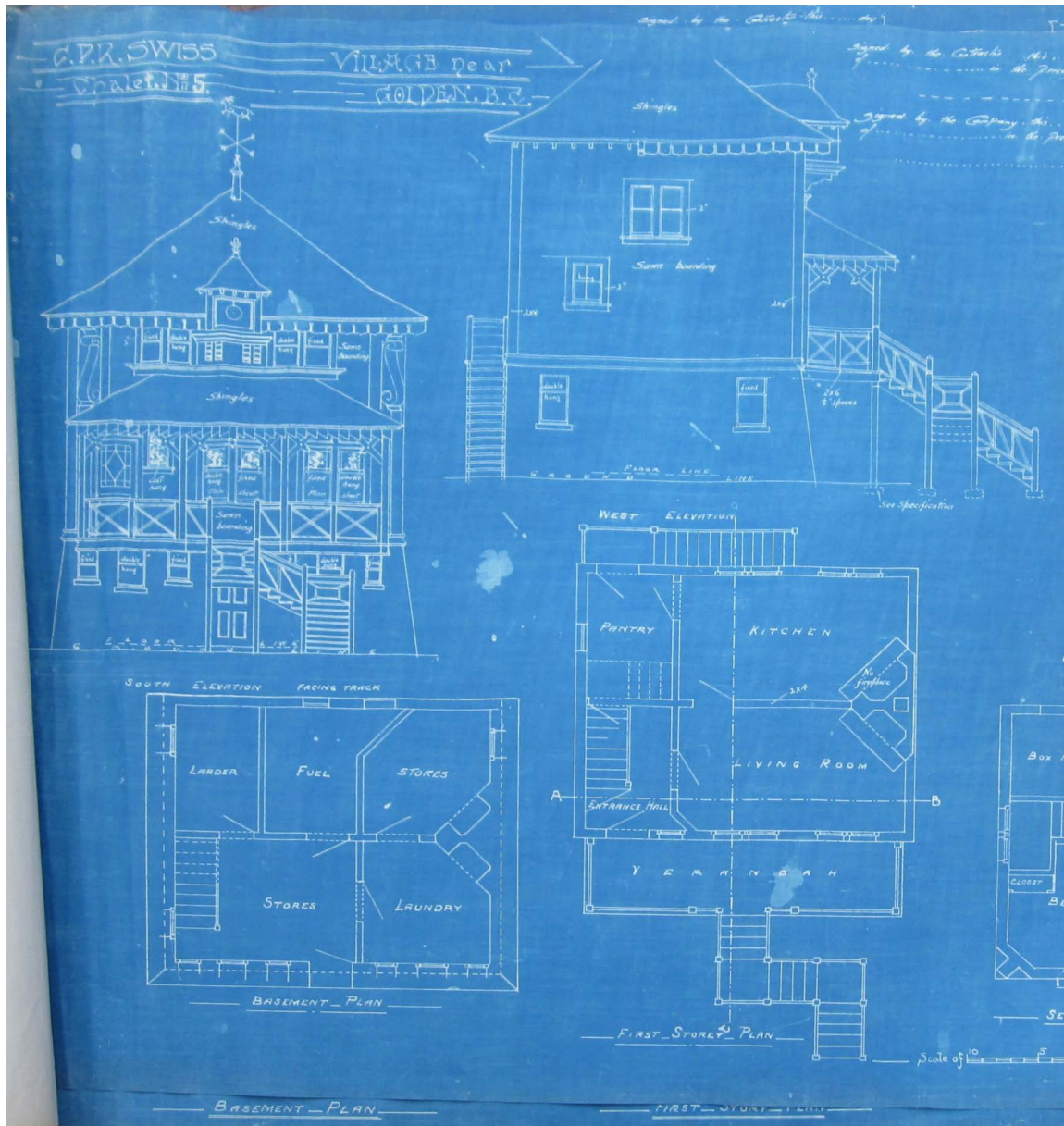


Figure 2-24a: Designs for Swiss Village near Golden, B.C., Wilson & Rees Architects, 1910. Glenbow Archives M-7588-13-10.

In 1909, the C.P.R. erected a series of Swiss-style houses in an area dubbed Edelweiss Swiss Village, near Golden, B.C. These provided permanent accommodation for the Swiss guides who were stationed at the hotels during the summer, along with their families.

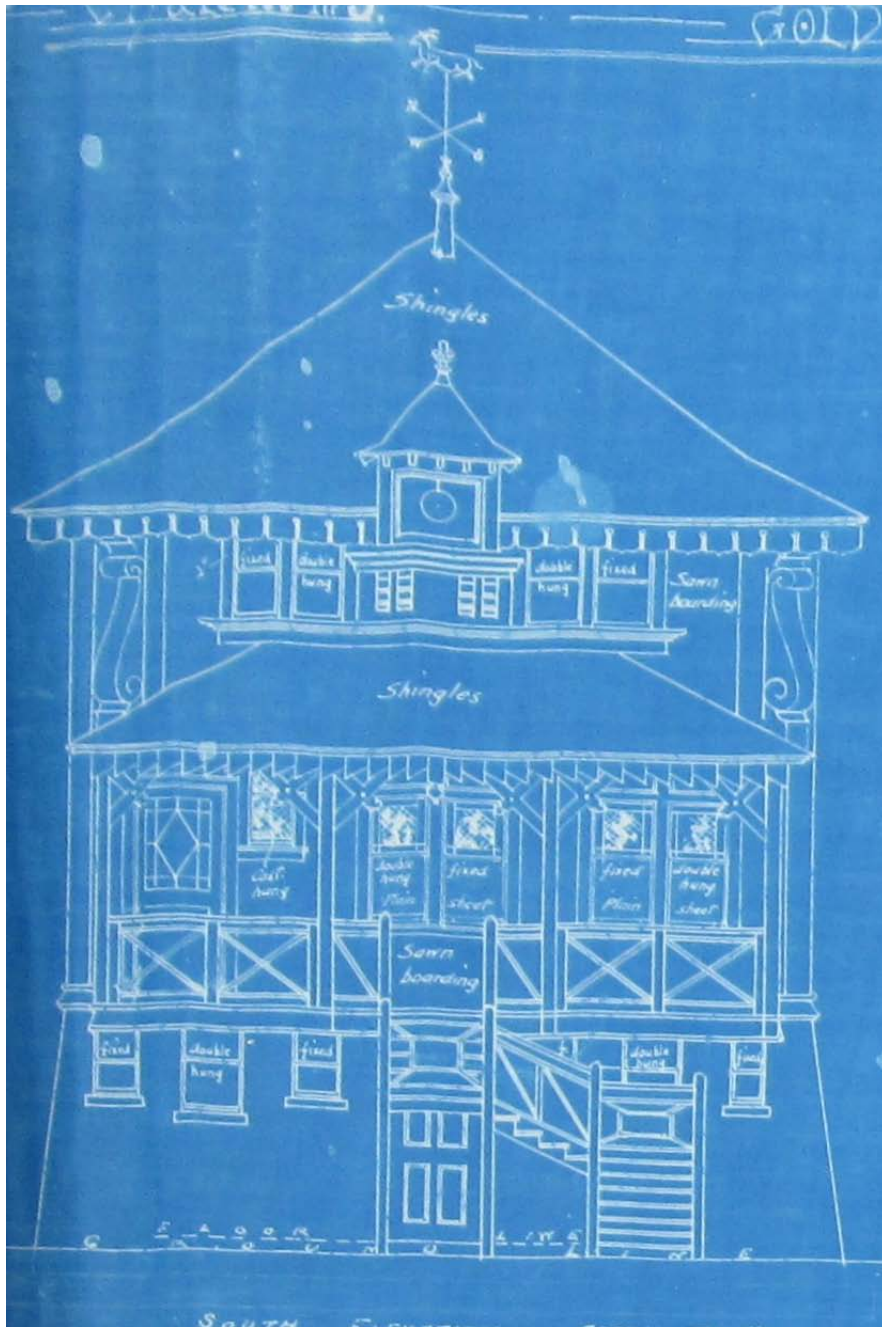


Figure 2-24b: Detail, Designs for Swiss Village near Golden, B.C., Wilson & Rees Architects, 1910. Glenbow Archives M-7588-13-10.

Swiss style architecture was caricatured in these buildings, which included gingerbread-cut trim and goat-topped weathervanes, top.

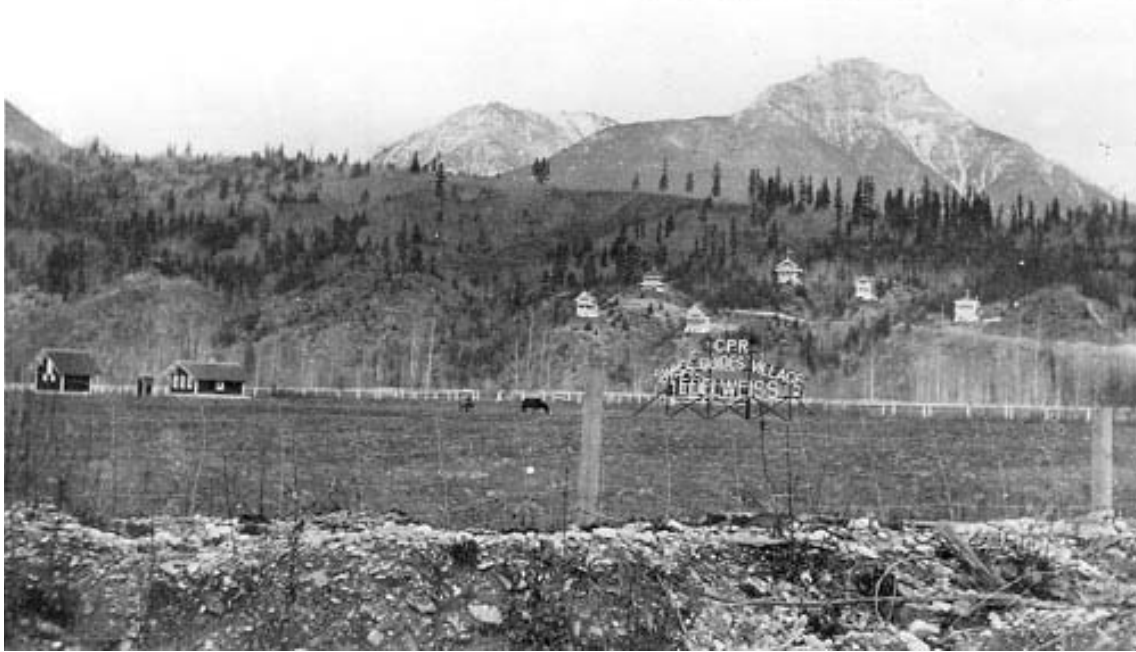
Glenbow Archives NA-3799-4

Figure 2-25: Swiss Village at Golden, B.C., ca. 1915. Glenbow Archives NA-3799-4.

Visible from the train tracks, the Swiss Village also served as a sight for tourists. A large sign at the base of the hill identified the development to viewers; it was also marked on railway maps.

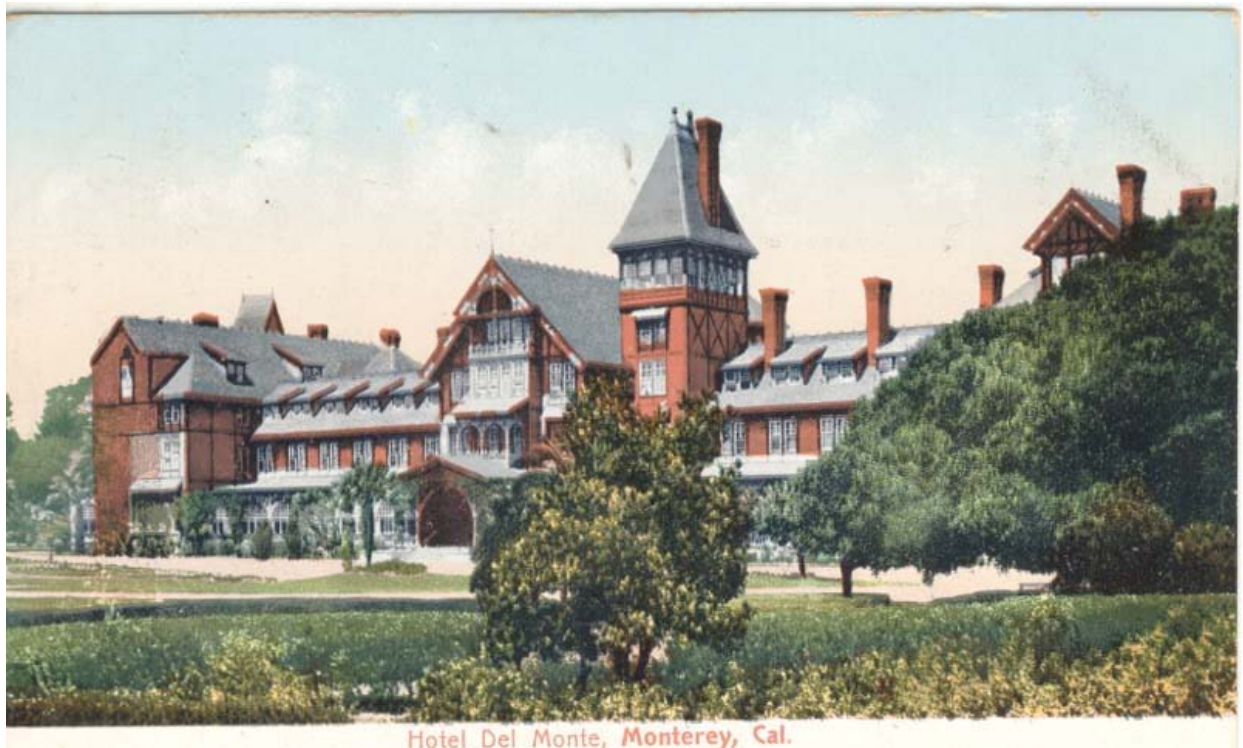


Figure 2-26: Hotel Del Monte, Monterey, California. Postcard published by American News Company, n.d.

Opened in 1880 and built at a cost of \$1 million on 125 acres by railroad and banking baron Charles Crocker, the eclectic Hotel Del Monte was surrounded by a botanical garden, on a seaside site that included a race track and tennis courts. The resort was reached by a dedicated rail line, the Del Monte Express. Note the half-timbered facaded and steep roofs, which give the building a somewhat Tudor feel.

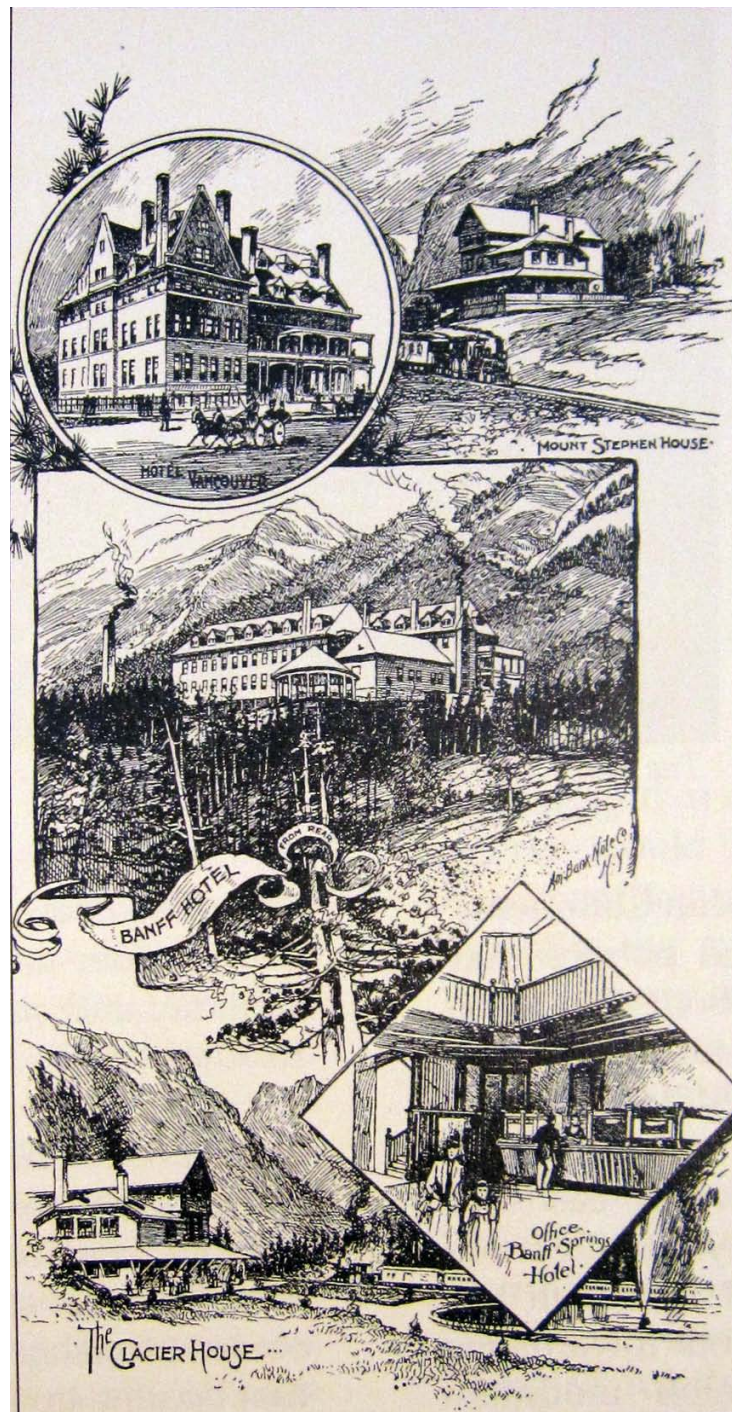


Figure 2-27: Montage depicting early C.P.R. hotels, from *Summer Tours by the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1894). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00094. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In this montage, C.P.R. hotels are depicted as icons of civilization, set against a natural backdrop of forests and mountains. This image appeared as the frontispiece of several C.P.R.-published tourist brochures in the 1890s.



Figure 2-28: Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta, 1899. Bruce Price, 1886-88. Provincial Archives of Alberta B5957.

The original Banff Springs Hotel was a place of luxurious vacationing, complete with all modern amenities. The hotel was built on a ground plan resembling a capital “H” with a centre portion jutting out; the back wing is concealed in this photo. The cascading balconies to the right of this image were originally designed to face in the other direction and overlook the Bow River; a construction mishap resulted in the misorientation of the plans. A rotunda was built to recuperate the river view for guests.



Figure 2-29: “Interior Views, Banff Hotel,” *Canadian Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1912). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00158. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In the top image, the hotel’s central lobby is clearly shown. Doorways on various sides of the octagon led to guest wings. Chairs were placed in the lobby, encouraging use of the area for socializing. In the dining room and lounge of the bottom two images, the wooden ceiling beams have been left exposed; the remaining surface is probably finished in plaster. This results in a half-timbered look that perhaps makes reference to Swiss chalet architecture.

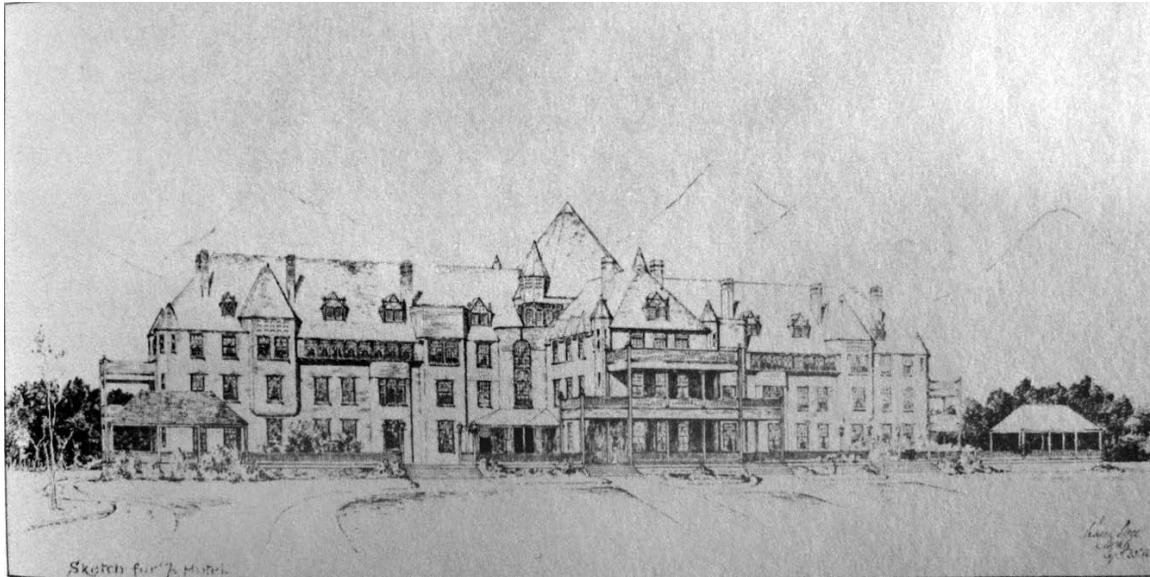


Figure 2-30: Bruce Price, “Sketch for a Hotel.” *Building VI*, Feb. 26, 1887. Photo by author from material held by the Avery Library.

Published in 1887, this “Sketch for a Hotel” was evidently the basis for the Banff Springs Hotel Design. Compared to the built version, the sketched structure is more horizontally elongated and includes a pyramidal centre. Elements such as the slightly protruding sections of the wings and the turret-like structures in the central section are reminiscent of the Scottish Baronial style.

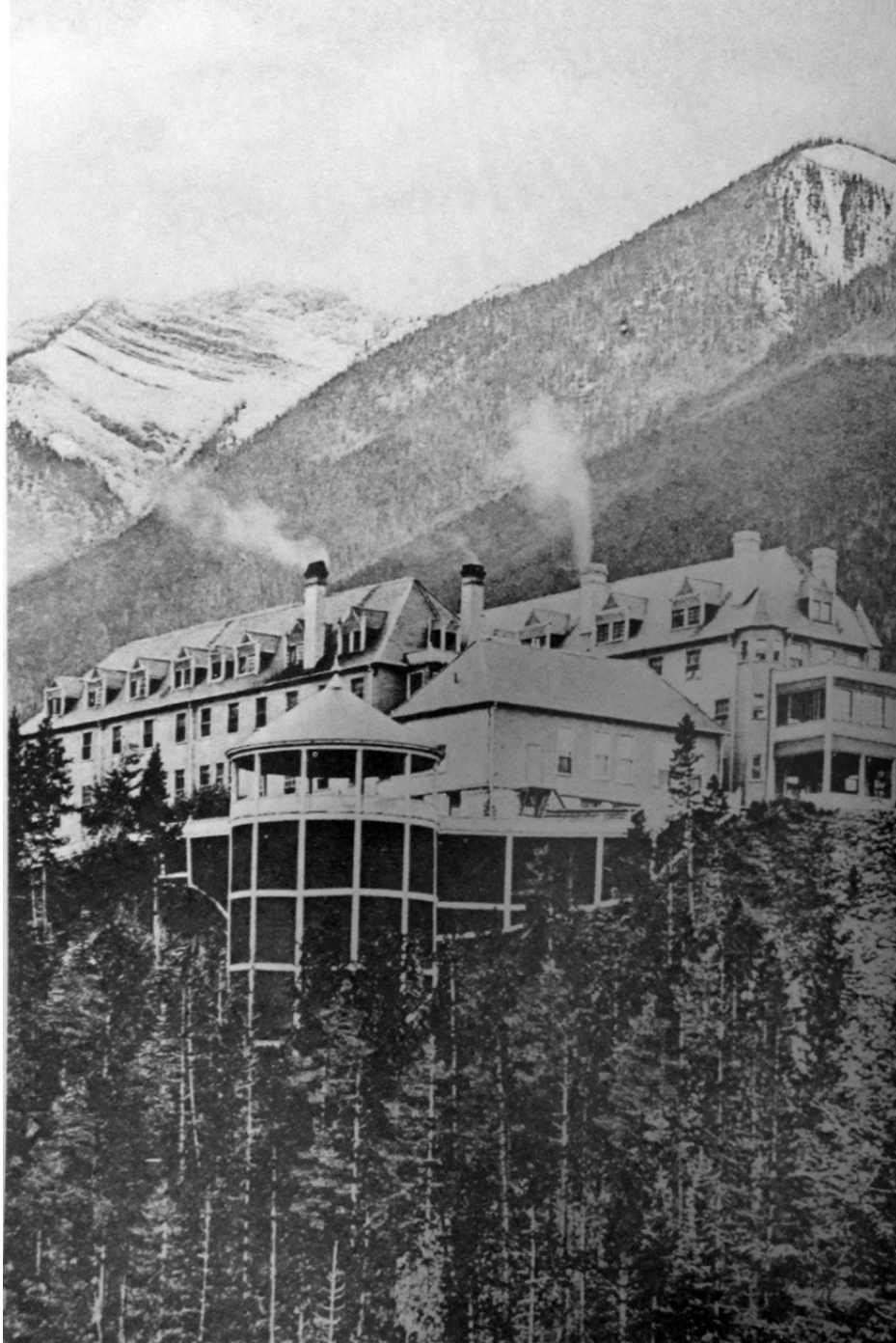


Figure 2-31: Banff Springs Hotel, ca. 1887. From Bart Robinson. *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel*. (Banff: Summerthought, 1973).

This covered rotunda was built at the back of the hotel, giving visitors a view overlooking the confluence of the Bow and Spray rivers.

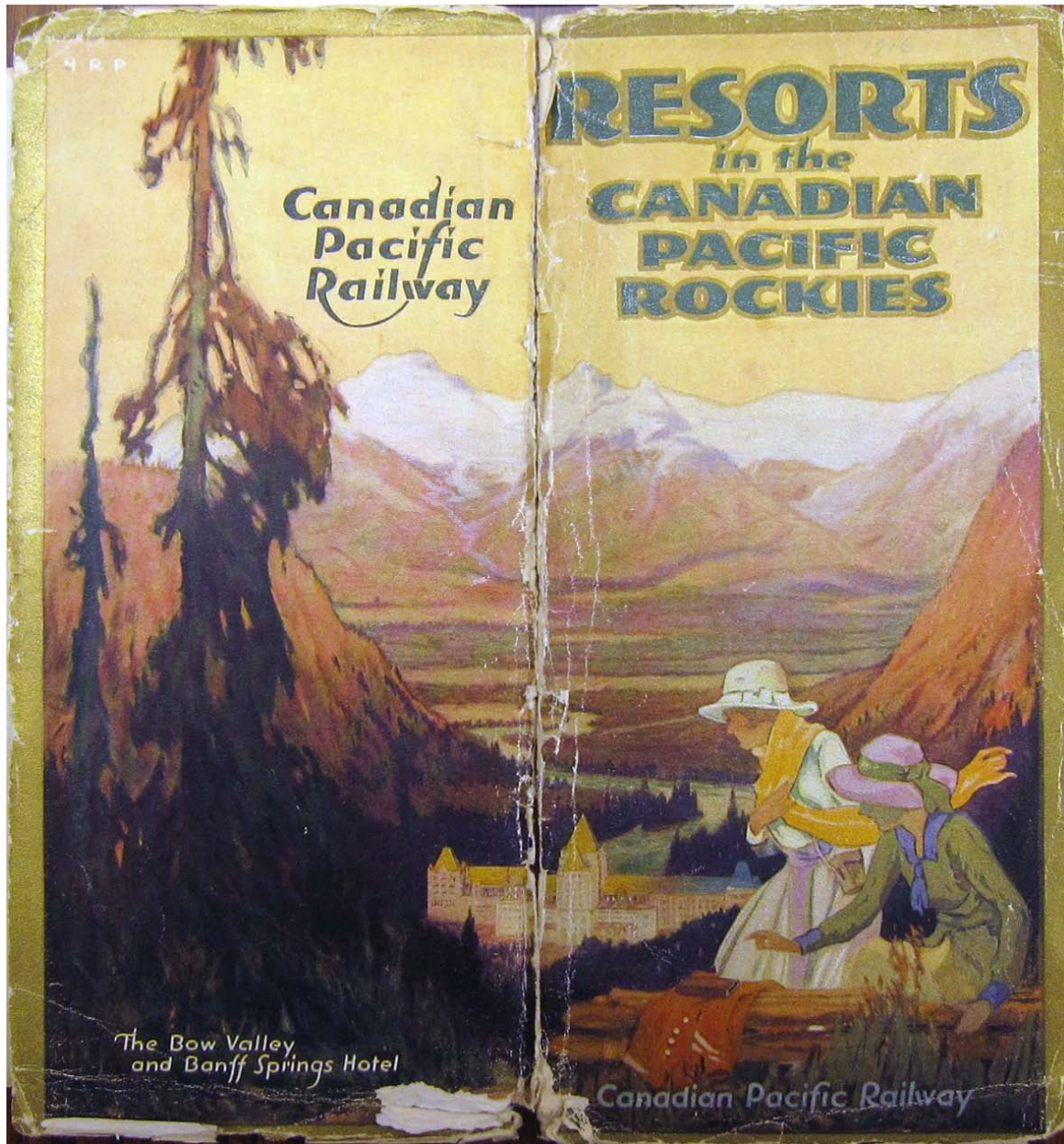


Figure 2-32: Cover of *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1916). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00165. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The image of the hotel appeared frequently in C.P.R. promotional literature. Often, it was depicted as seen from a high, northwest vantage point, which also allowed for the Bow Valley and mountains beyond to be included in the image. Compare with Figure 1-10.



Figure 2-33: Banff Springs Hotel, Banff, Alberta. W.S. Painter, 1912-13, J.W. Orrock, 1926-28. Reprinted in Harold Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada* (Victoria: University of Victoria Maltwood Museum, 1968).

The additions designed by W.S. Painter and J.W. Orrock were ostensibly in a Scottish Baronial style, with limestone cladding, a profusion of turrets, and arched porticos on the ground floor. The building has also been associated with the so-called “Chateau Style” used for several of the C.P.R.’s other grand hotels.

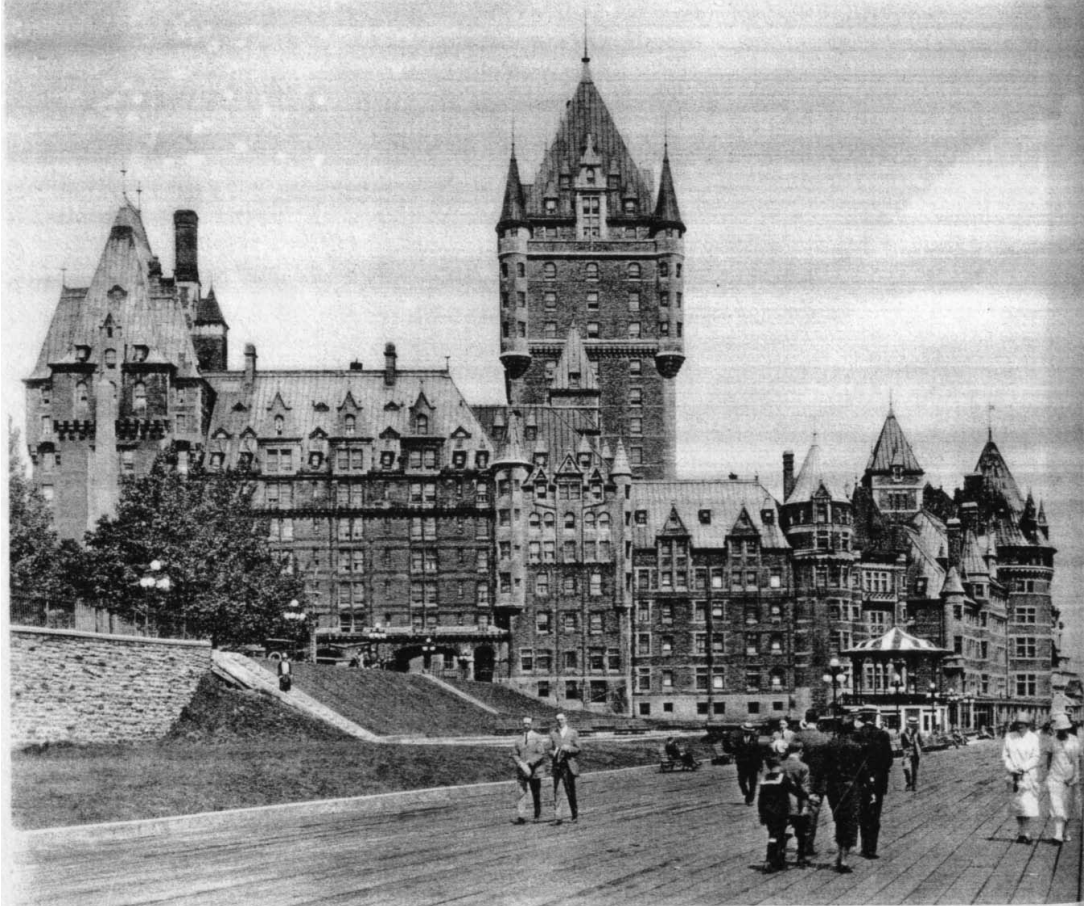


Figure 2-34: Château Frontenac, Quebec City, Quebec. Bruce Price and successors, 1892-1924. Reprinted in Harold Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada* (Victoria: University of Victoria Maltwood Museum, 1968).

Bruce Price's Château Frontenac, in Quebec, is fully inspired by castles in the Loire valley. Distinguishing characteristics of the "Château Style" pioneered by this building included steeply pitched hipped roofs in copper, ornate gables and dormer windows, and the use of towers and turrets, which generated an irregular silhouette.



Figure 2-35: Confederation Building, Ottawa, Department of Public Works, 1928-31
Reprinted in Harold Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada* (Victoria: University of Victoria Maltwood Museum, 1968).

The Chateau idiom became appropriated at a national level, when it was adopted as the official style for the parliamentary district in Ottawa. The federal Confederation Building includes the Chateau Style's distinguishing hipped copper roofs, ornate dormers, towers, and turrets.



Figure 3-1: C.P.R. Ready-Made Farm, 1913. CP Archives. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The C.P.R.'s ready-made farms were model homesteads, pre-built and sold to British immigrant settlers.

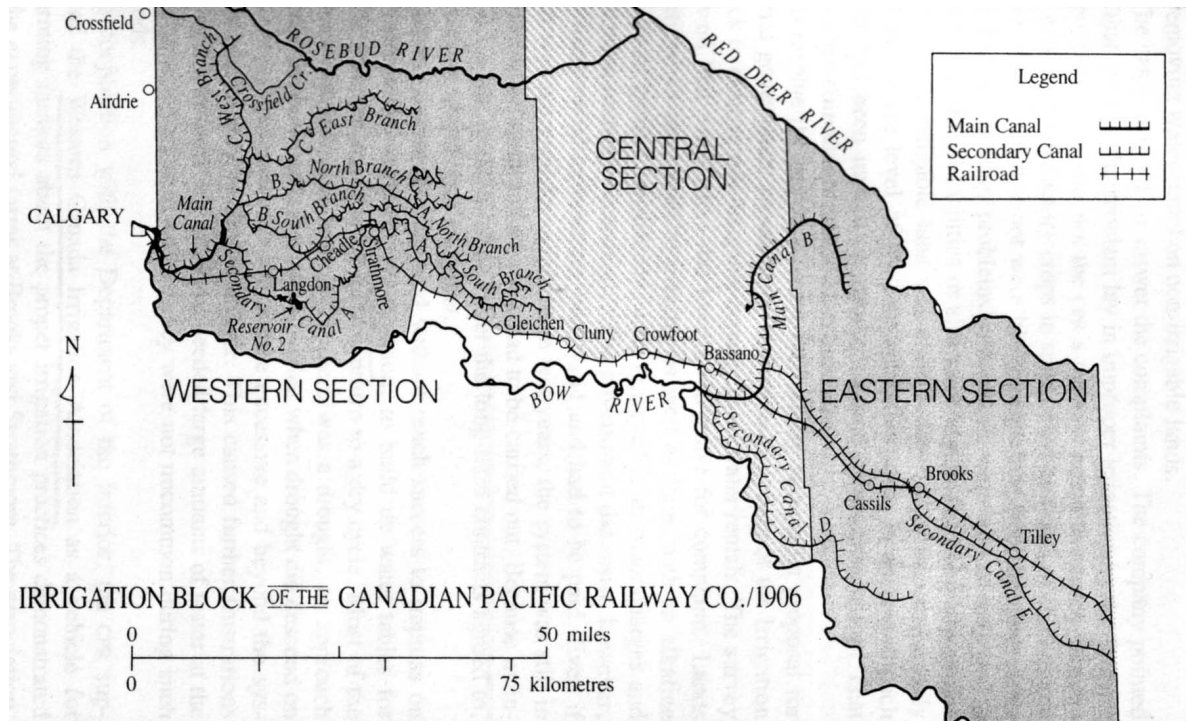


Figure 3-2: C.P.R. irrigation districts. From: A. Mitchner, "The Bow River Scheme: The CPR's Irrigation Block." In *The CPR West: The Iron Road and the Making of the Nation*, edited by Hugh A. Dempsey. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984).

The railway company planned for three irrigation districts, covering a total of some 3.3 million acres. Ultimately, only the Eastern and Western sections were completed.

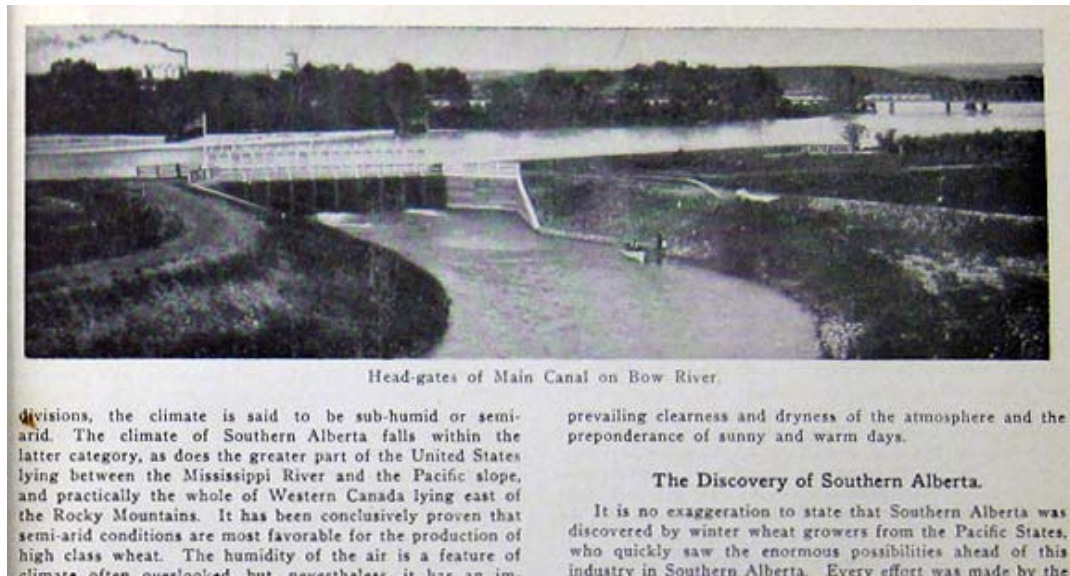


Figure 3-3: Image from *Facts Concerning the Bow River Valley*. (Calgary: Canadian Pacific Railway Company Colonization Department, 1909). Glenbow Library 630.97123 C212p.

The irrigation channel is depicted as a component in a picturesque scene, complete with boat, winding river, and lazy smokestack.

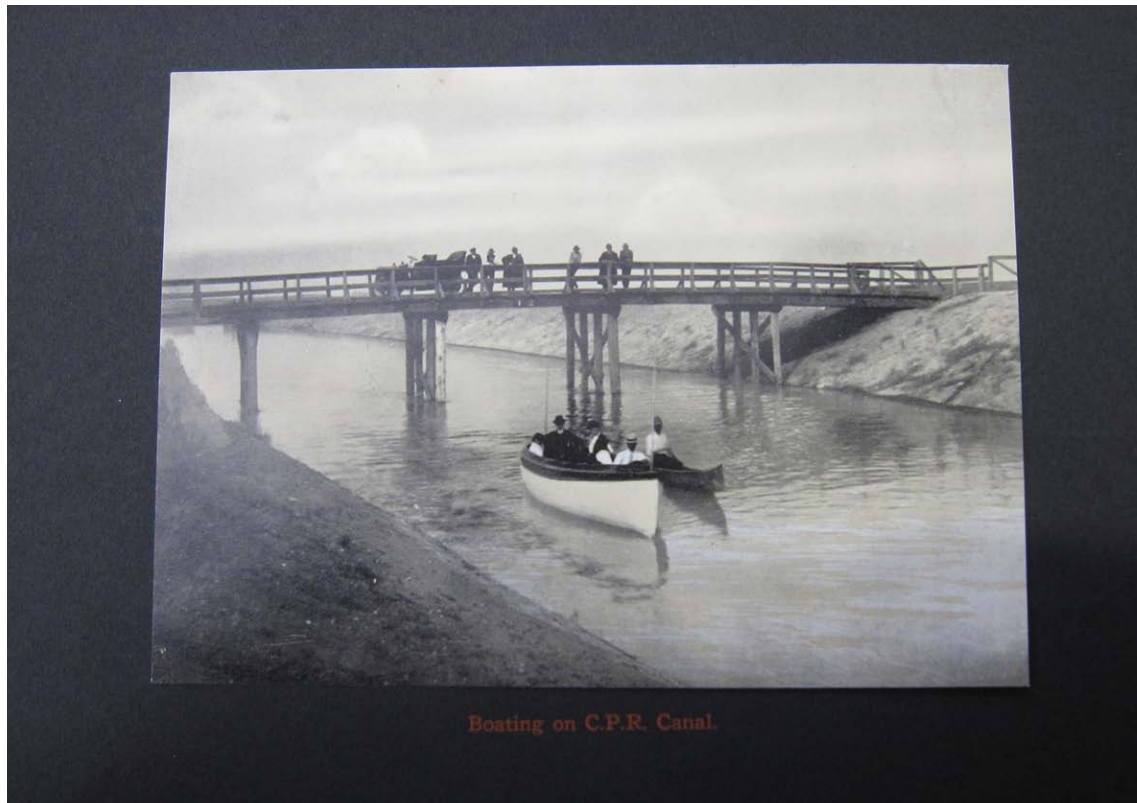


Figure 3-4: “Boating on C.P.R. Canal,” from published album (possibly advertised as *Picturesque Bow River Valley*) ca. 1909. Glenbow Archives PD-43-vol. 1, Western Irrigation Fonds,

This image suggested that leisure boating was a popular pastime on the C.P.R. irrigation canals. A possible aim was to associate the artificial channels with natural waterways, which would have been used for recreation.



Where Nature Supplies the Water—A Living Spring.

8

Figure 3-5: “Where Nature Supplies the Water – A Living Spring,” *Animal Husbandry in the Kingdom of Alfalfa* (Canadian Pacific Railway, ca. 1907), 8. Glenbow Library 630.97123 C212p.

According to the C.P.R. brochure series on farming in the Bow Valley, irrigation had a natural origin in mountain streams.

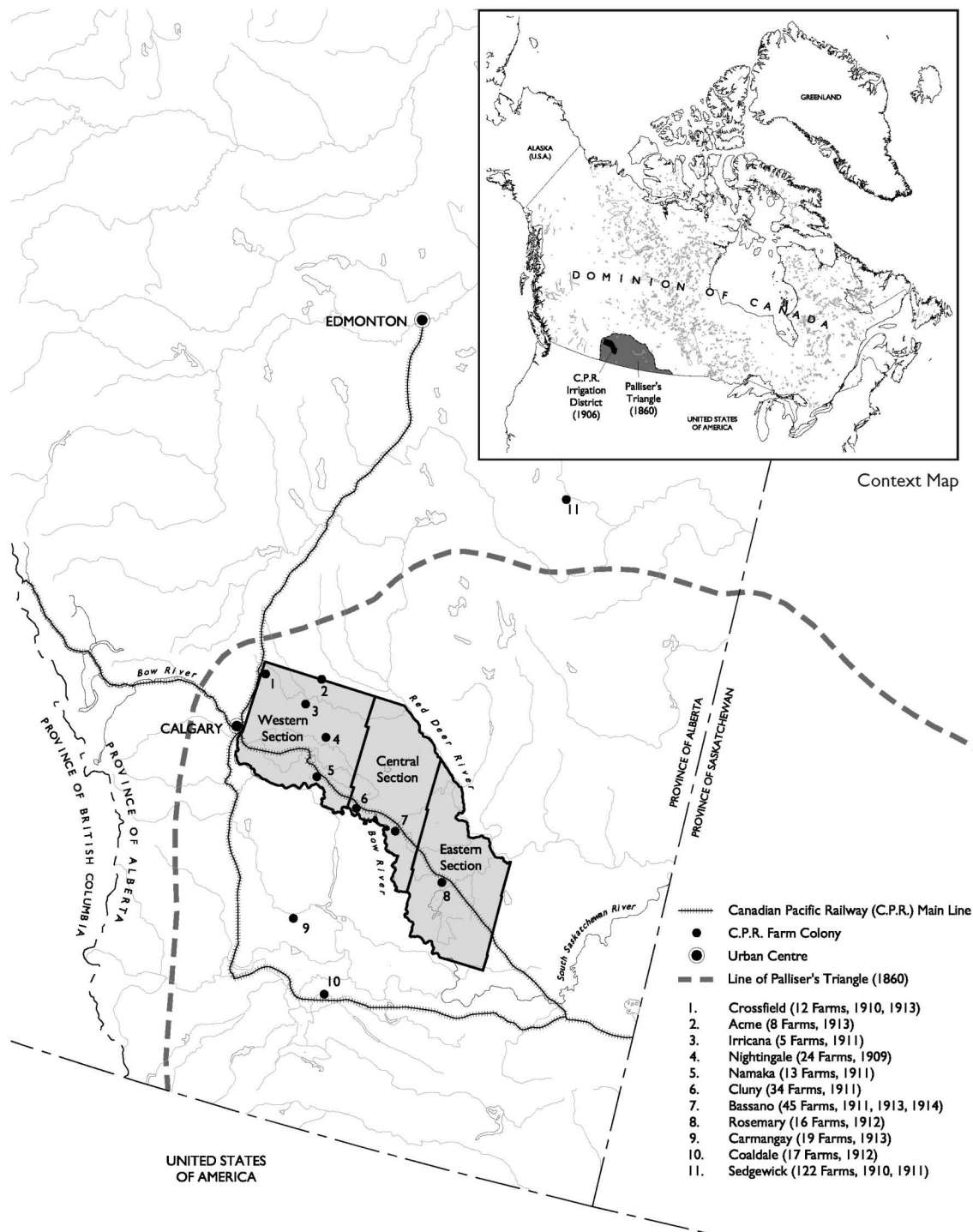


Figure 3-6: C.P.R. ready-made farm colonies in Alberta and C.P.R. irrigation district, 1914. Graphic by James Mallinson.

Farm colonies at Cairnhill (10 farms, 1910, 1913) and Glenrose (10 farms, 1911) could not be located and are not shown.



In order to save the settler the inconvenience of having to build his house, fence and prepare his land in his first year while he would rather be attending to his crops, the Canadian Pacific Railway has prepared a number of

Ready-Made Farms

equipped with house, barn, well, and suitable fences, with a proportion of land already broken. These farms are eligible for married couples with farming experience, and are paid for on easy instalments.

They are reserved for British Settlers

For Application Forms and further particulars apply:
CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
 Land Department,
 62-65, CHARING CROSS, LONDON, S.W.,
 OR LOCAL AGENTS.

BANK OF MONTREAL.

ESTABLISHED IN 1817.

Capital Paid Up, £2,958,904. Reserve Fund, £2,465,753.
 Undivided Profits, £140,046.

President: R. B. ANGUS, Esq.

Head Office and Board of Directors: Montreal. Vice President and General Manager: Sir Edward Clouston, Bart., Montreal.

• 152 Branches and Agencies throughout Canada.

LONDON OFFICES—

47, THREADNEEDLE STREET, E.C.

Committee: Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal,

G.C.M.G., Thomas Skauzer, Esq.

Manager: F. William Taylor.

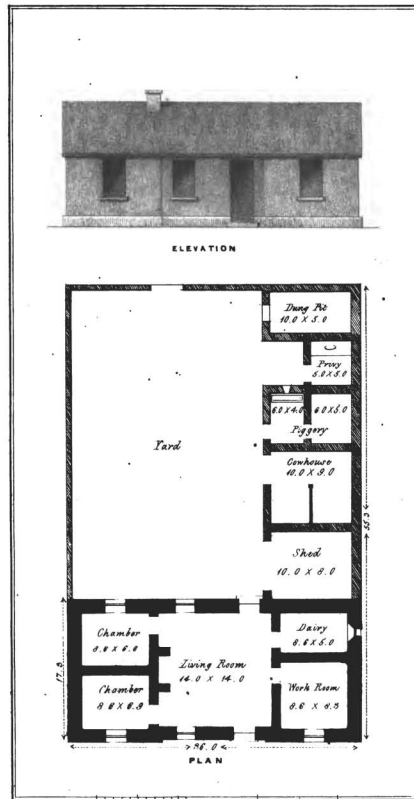
FINANCIAL AGENTS of the GOVERNMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The Bank undertakes Monetary Business with all parts of Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States, and issues Sterling and Currency Drafts and Cable Transfers.

Figure 3-7: "Emigration," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 30 1910.

Campaigns to sell the ready-made farms targeted married British settlers, who fit in with an Eastern Anglophone-Canadian vision of the West as an extension of the British Empire.

Plate 1.

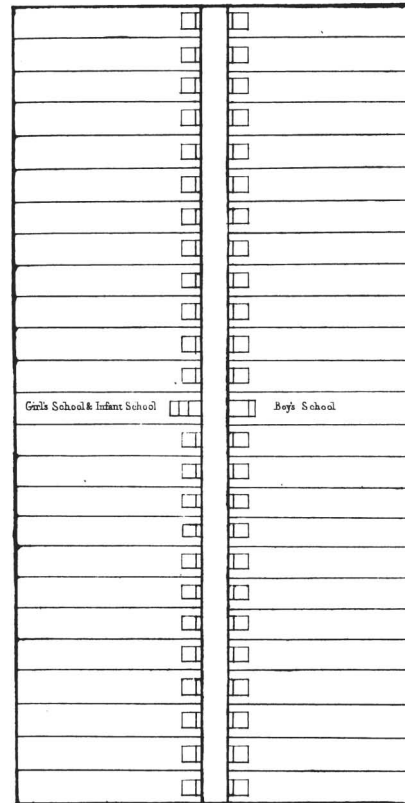
A Cottage & Farm Yard upon the Plan of
COLONIES AT HOME.

Drawn by W. Alderson

Printed by G. Hollman and Co.

Digitized by Google

Plate 2.

A Village upon the Plan of the
COLONIES AT HOME.

Digitized by Google

Figure 3-8: William Allen, cottage plan and layout from *Colonies at Home, or, the Means for Rendering the Industrious Labourer Independent of Parish Relief and for Providing for the Poor Population of Ireland by the Cultivation of the Soil* (C. Greene, 1826).

In reformer William Allen's scheme, families occupied cottages with sufficient land to provide for growing subsistence food crops.

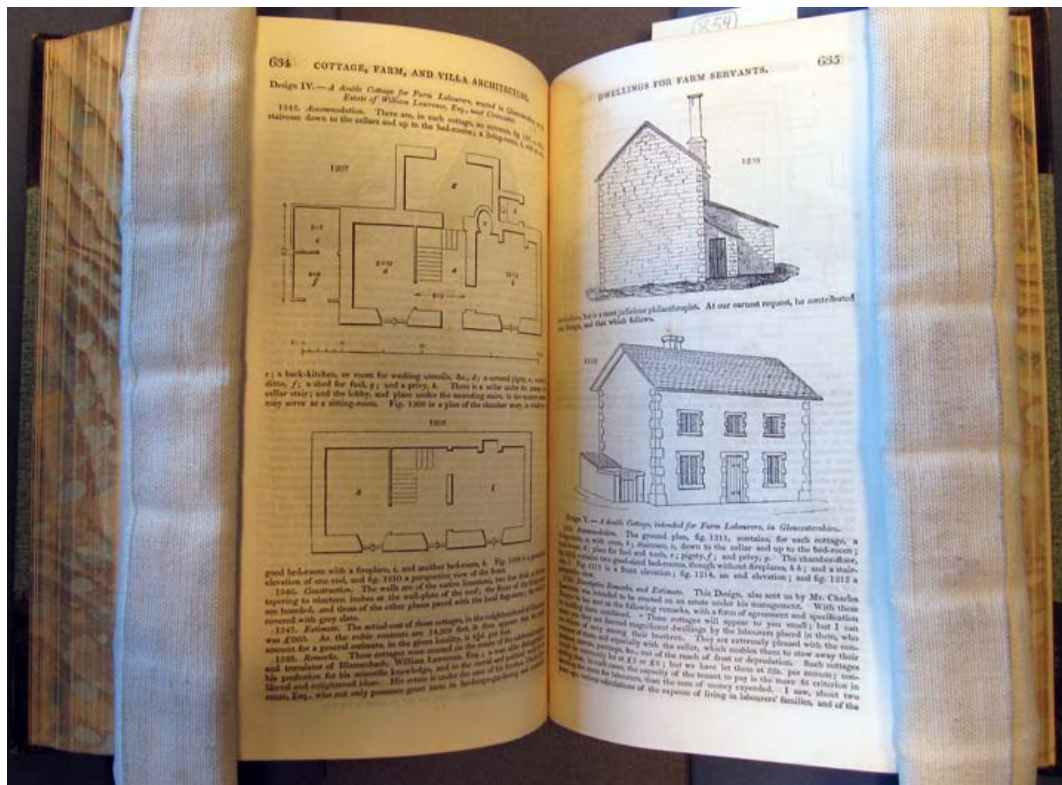


Figure 3-9: A “double cottage for farm labourers,” from John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1833). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture.

Up to the nineteenth century in England, the gentry owned much of the countryside, which was cultivated by tenant farmers. With the rise of interest in picturesque landscaping, landlords sought to create a corresponding picturesque architecture to ornament their holdings. Loudon’s suggested clean-lined, simple models to house tenants; the designs would testify to the owners’ sense of practicality as well as their aesthetic taste.



Figure 3-10: Glass Slides from C.P.R. presentation, ca. 1912. Glenbow Archives S-30, C.P.R. Land Settlement and Development Fonds.

These slides, likely used for presentations in England, contrasted the log-and-sod huts of many pioneers on the Canadian Prairies, left, with a tidy and solid ready-made farmhouse, right.

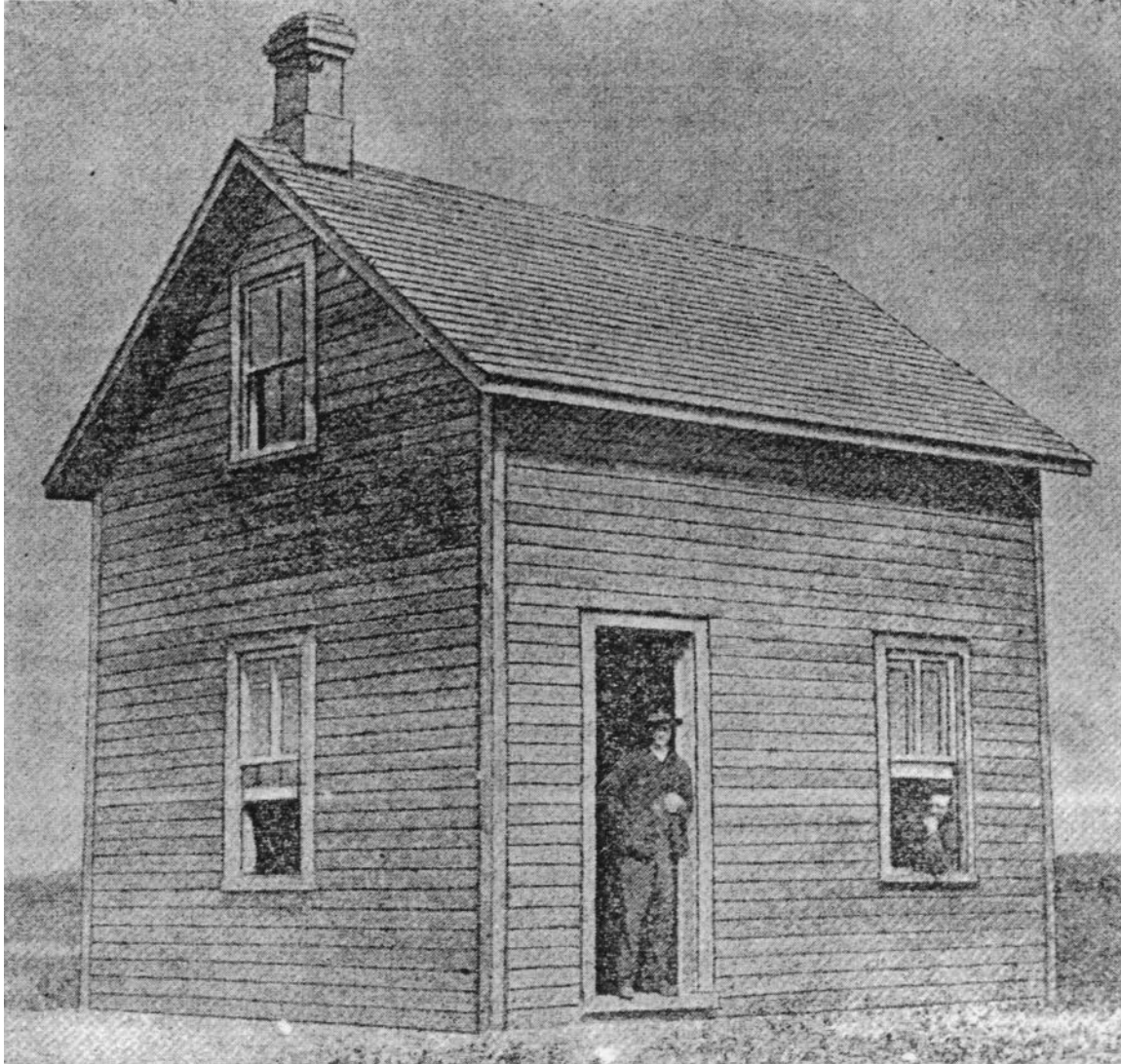


Figure 3-11: “Colonists House No. 3, 16 x 14 feet, one room down and one up-stairs, cellar with trap door,” 1887-88. *The Nor’-West Farmer*, Sept. 1888, 243. Reprinted in G.E. Mills, *Buying Wood & Building Farms: Marketing Lumber and Farm Building Designs on the Canadian Prairies, 1880 to 1920* (Ottawa: National Historic Sites, 1991).

One early attempt to create ready-made homesteads on the Canadian Prairies was led by the Anglican Churchbridge Colonization Land Society, which created a series of rudimentary homes on 40-acre tracts near Winnipeg, Alberta.

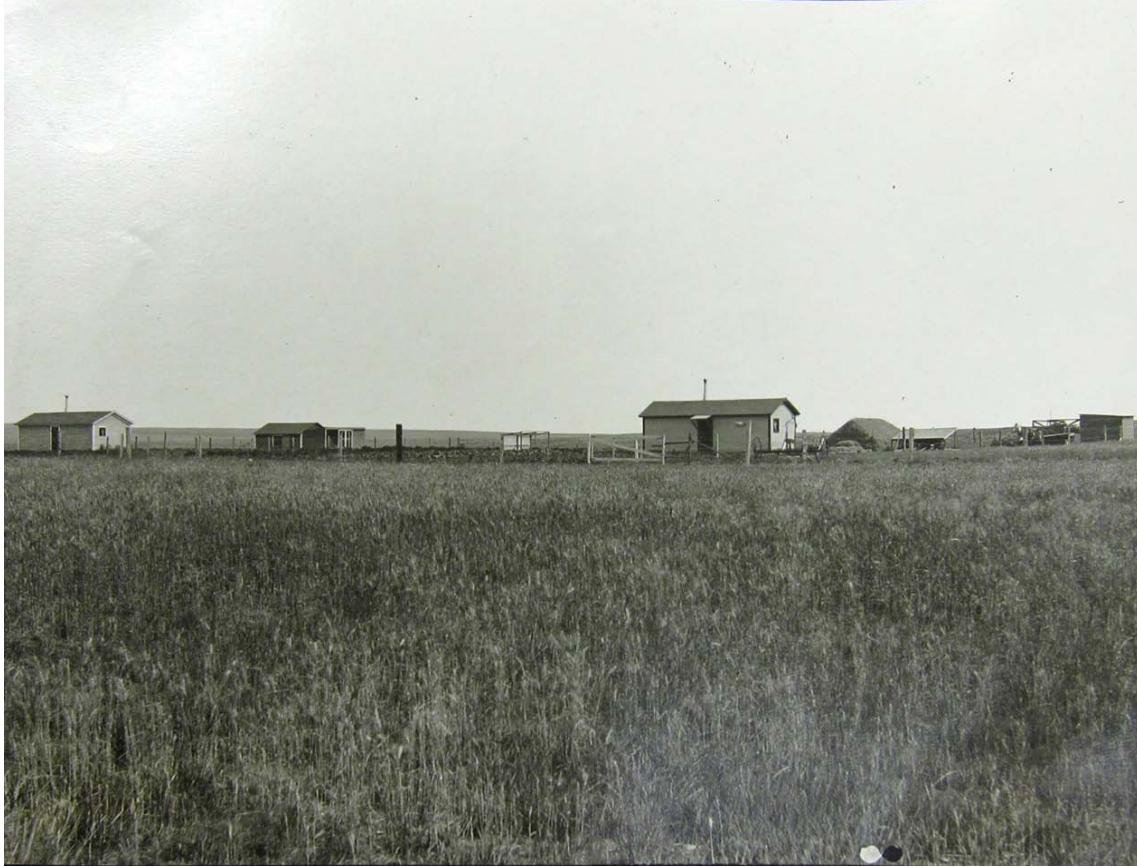


Figure 3-12: Photo of Nightingale, Alberta, from C.P.R. album. Glenbow Archives PD-31, C.P.R. Land Settlement and Development Fonds.

The first ready-made farm colony, at Nightingale, consisted of simple, box-like homes accompanied by a basic barn and outhouse.

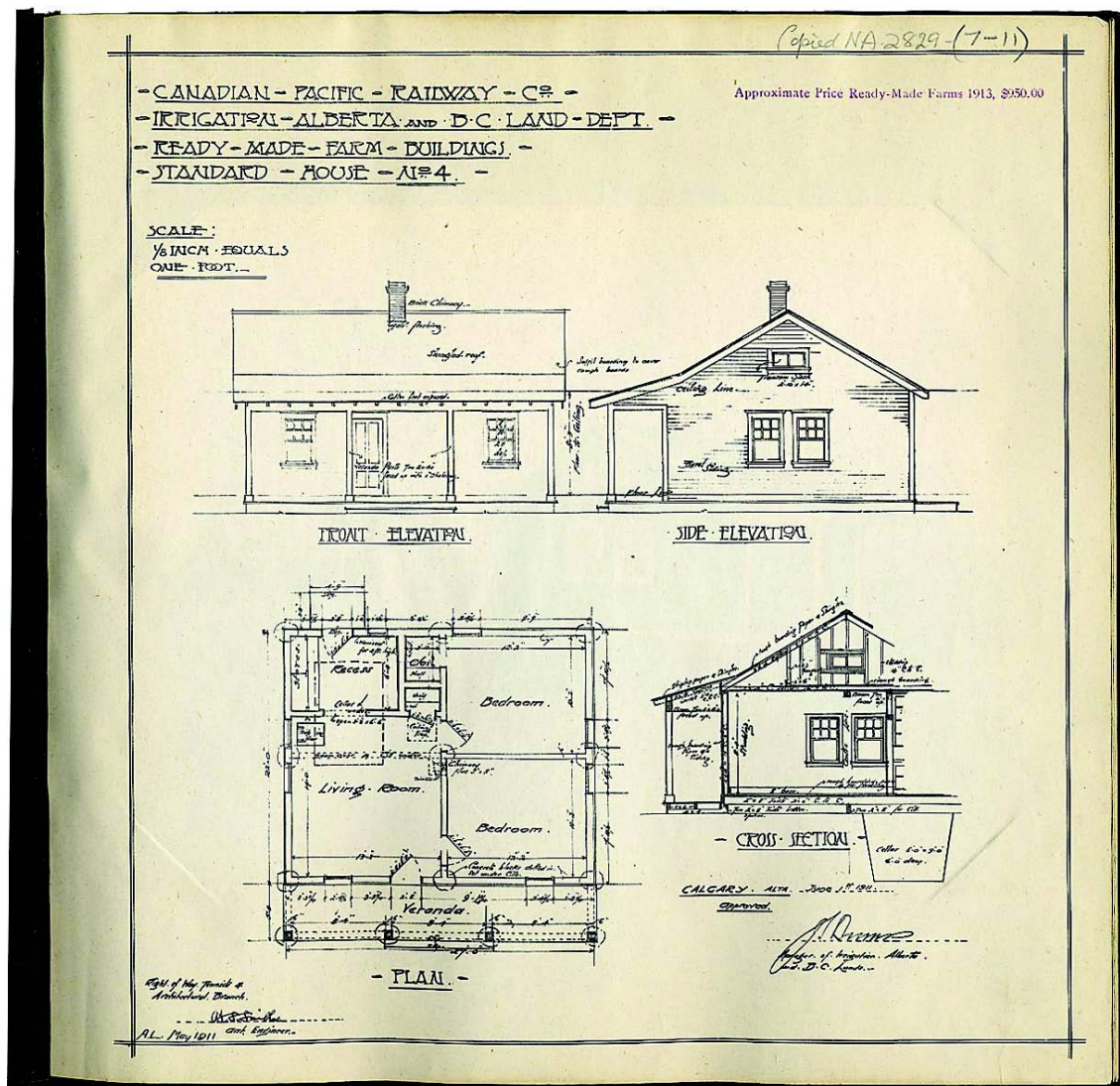


Figure 3-14: Ready-made farm plan from presentation book, 1912. Glenbow Archives M2381, C.P.R. Land Settlement and Development Fonds.

In 1911, the C.P.R.'s own design department produced a series of ready-made farmhouse designs, which were to a much higher standard in their layout and detailing than previous versions. This is one of five designs offered to prospective settlers, compiled in a presentation book that was presumably available at C.P.R. offices in Britain.

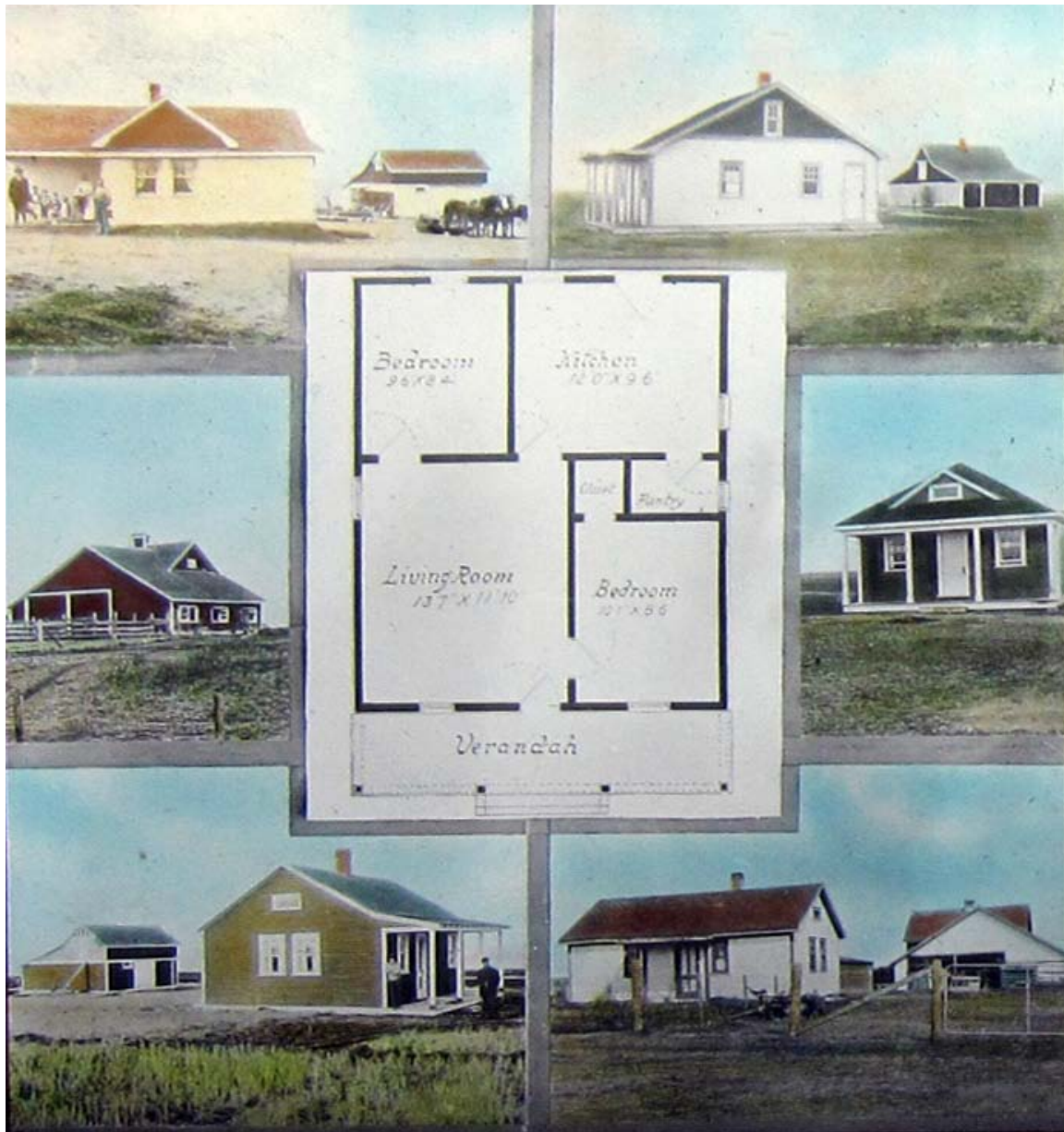
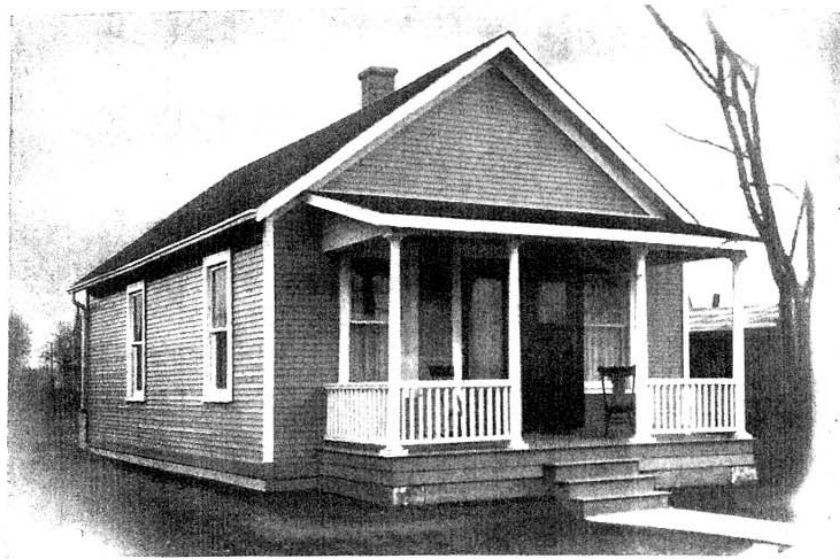


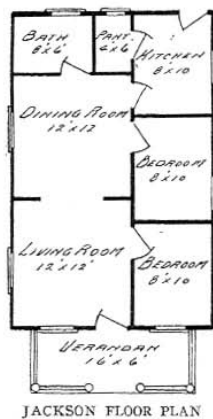
Figure 3-15: Selection of ready-made farms from slide presentation, ca. 1912. Glenbow Archives S-30, C.P.R. Land Settlement and Development Fonds.

This selection of ready-made farms was part of a slide presentation shown in England, as were the slides in Figure 3-10. Different options are shown, along with a typical layout of the four-room houses. Note that the same photographs, in black and white, were part of a C.P.R. presentation book on ready-made farms, alongside the blueprints shown in Figure 3-14.



THE JACKSON

If interested in this design, ask for alternative plan 115.



THIS design is furnished in two sizes—20' x 30', and 22' x 30'. The illustration is typical of the four designs—clean, straight lines. They are generally intended for use where land values are relatively high, and it is necessary to make full use of it by building on narrow lots.

Their quality is our only quality—the best. They are furnished with 6" porch columns and railing. The floor plan shown is of the 20' x 30' size. In the larger size the size of the rooms is each increased proportionately, or the added space may be distributed in any way you prefer. In fact, we can supply this Aladdin home with any arrangement of floor space you desire if the one shown is not entirely to your liking. The dimensions given for length of building are exclusive of the 6' verandah.

A very warm, substantial, comfortable home of excellent appearance and moderate cost.

The storm door appearing in the illustration is not included in the price quoted, but storm doors and storm sash will be furnished for these or any other of our houses at closest prices.

The "Readi-Cut" idea has helped many a family to get that longed-for "home of their own."

ONTARIO.—Your System saved me on the "Midland," \$700.00.—N. WELLWOOD.

The wholesaler adds to the price, the dealer adds to the price, but neither adds to the Value of the lumber. This gave birth to mail selling—direct from the producer to the consumer.

See terms on page 5 and specifications on pages 11 to 13.



Twenty-six

Figure 3-16: "The Jackson," Canadian Aladdin Co., *Aladdin Homes: Complete Cities or Single Homes* (Toronto: 1919).

Compare this prefab home with Figure 3-1, a C.P.R. design with striking similarities.

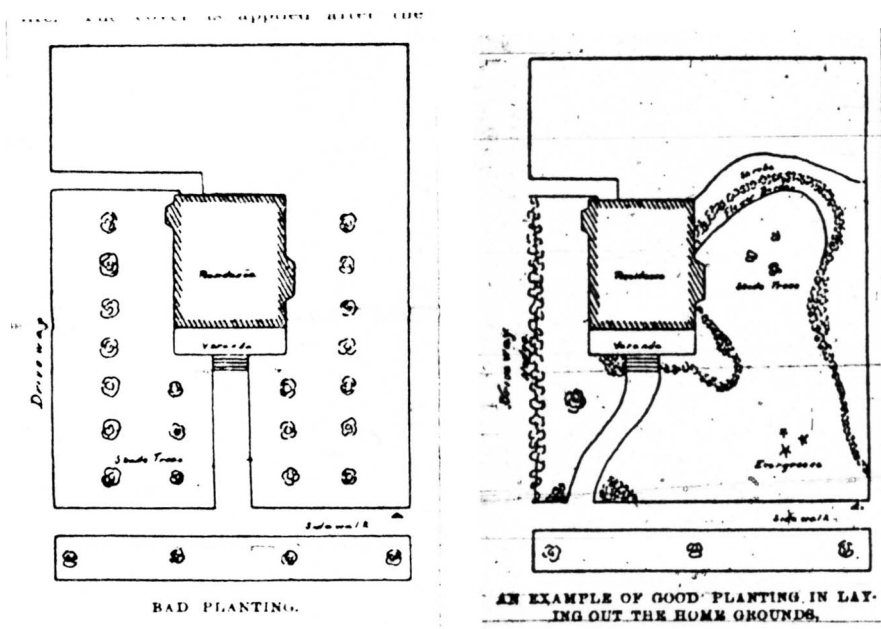


Figure 3-17: Examples of Good and Bad Planting from Erwin, A.T. "Planning the Home Grounds." *Strathmore Standard*, May 7 1910.

Published in a local newspaper, this article made the case for adopting a picturesque landscape layout. A symmetrical and highly geometric landscape layout, left, was rejected as “Bad Planting,” while a design with curved lines and irregular plantings, right, was embraced as “An Example of Good Planting in Laying Out the Home Grounds.” Labels identify the Residence, Verandah, Driveway and Sidewalk at the same location in both images. In the left hand image, the plantings are identified as Shade Trees. In the right hand image, there is a mix of Shade Trees (upper area) and Evergreens (lower area); Flower Borders are also included along the pathway and driveway of the “Good Planting” image.

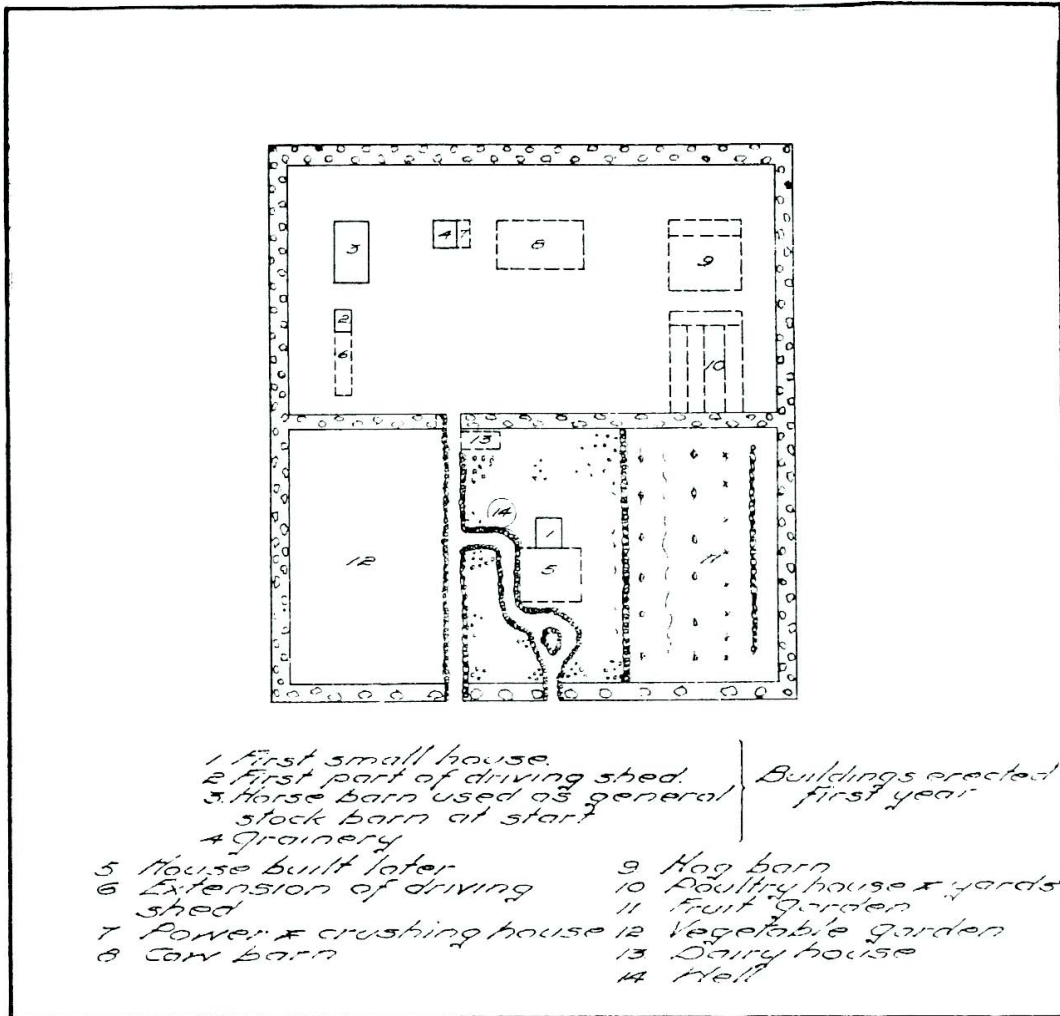


Figure 3-18: Recommended farm plan, from Canadian Pacific Railway Colonization Department, *Settler's Guide: A Handbook of Information for Settlers in the Canadian Pacific Railway Irrigation Block*. (Calgary: Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1911). Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Following picturesque precepts, the C.P.R. recommended building a curving drive to the farmhouse (1 and 5), and planting the surrounding area with irregular clumps of trees and shrubs.

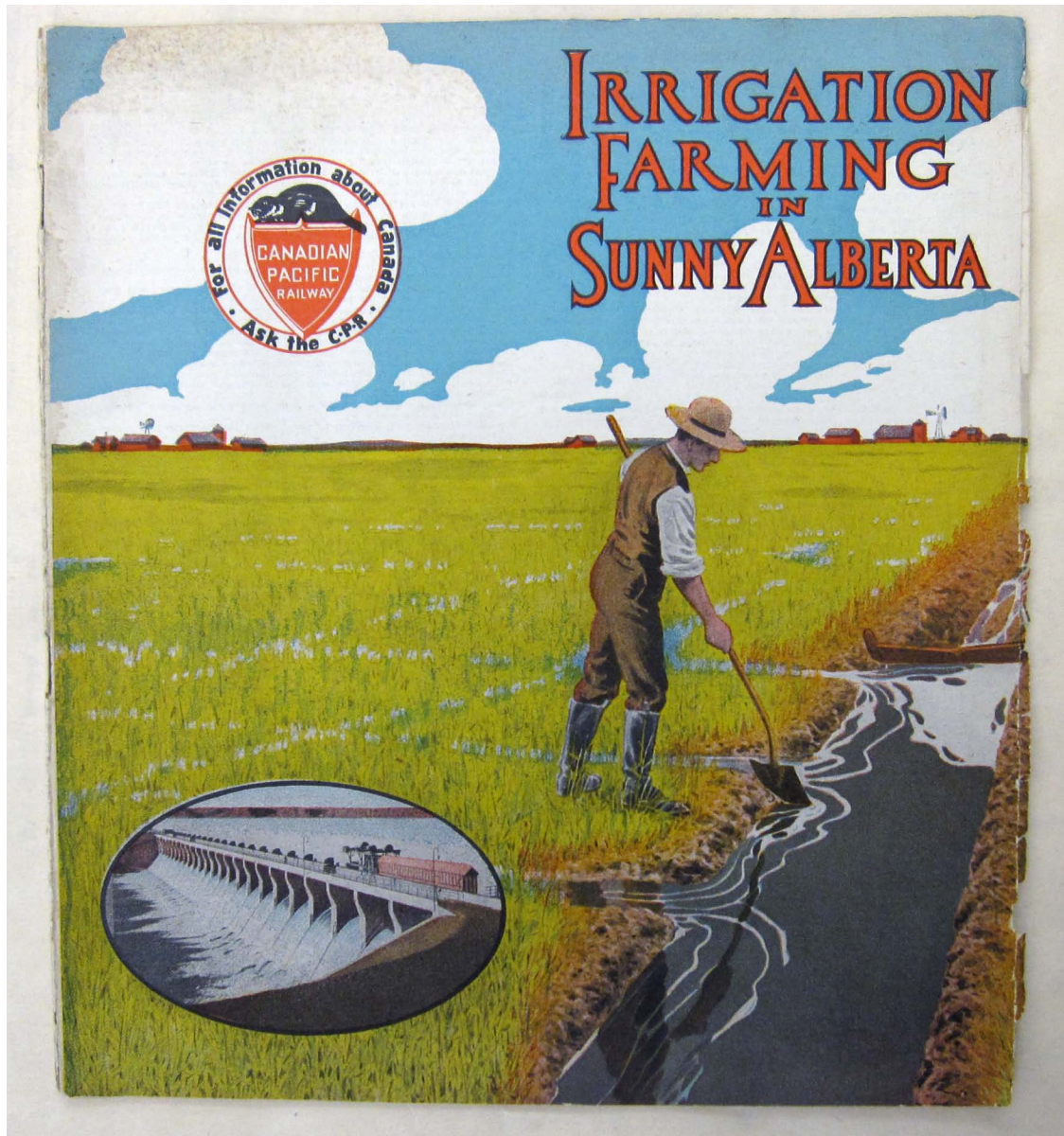


Figure 3-19: Cover of Canadian Pacific Railway Company. *Irrigation Farming in Sunny Alberta* (Chicago: M. Kallis & Company, 1921). Glenbow Library.

Downplaying the expansive and desolate landscapes of the Prairies, this image shows two neighboring farmsteads on the horizon. Emphasizing the ease of irrigation farming, the farmer is dressed in clean, gentleman-like clothes, and appears to be gently directing the water into a neat grid of channels in his verdant field. An inset shows the Eastern District's irrigation dam, which works industriously on behalf of the farmer.

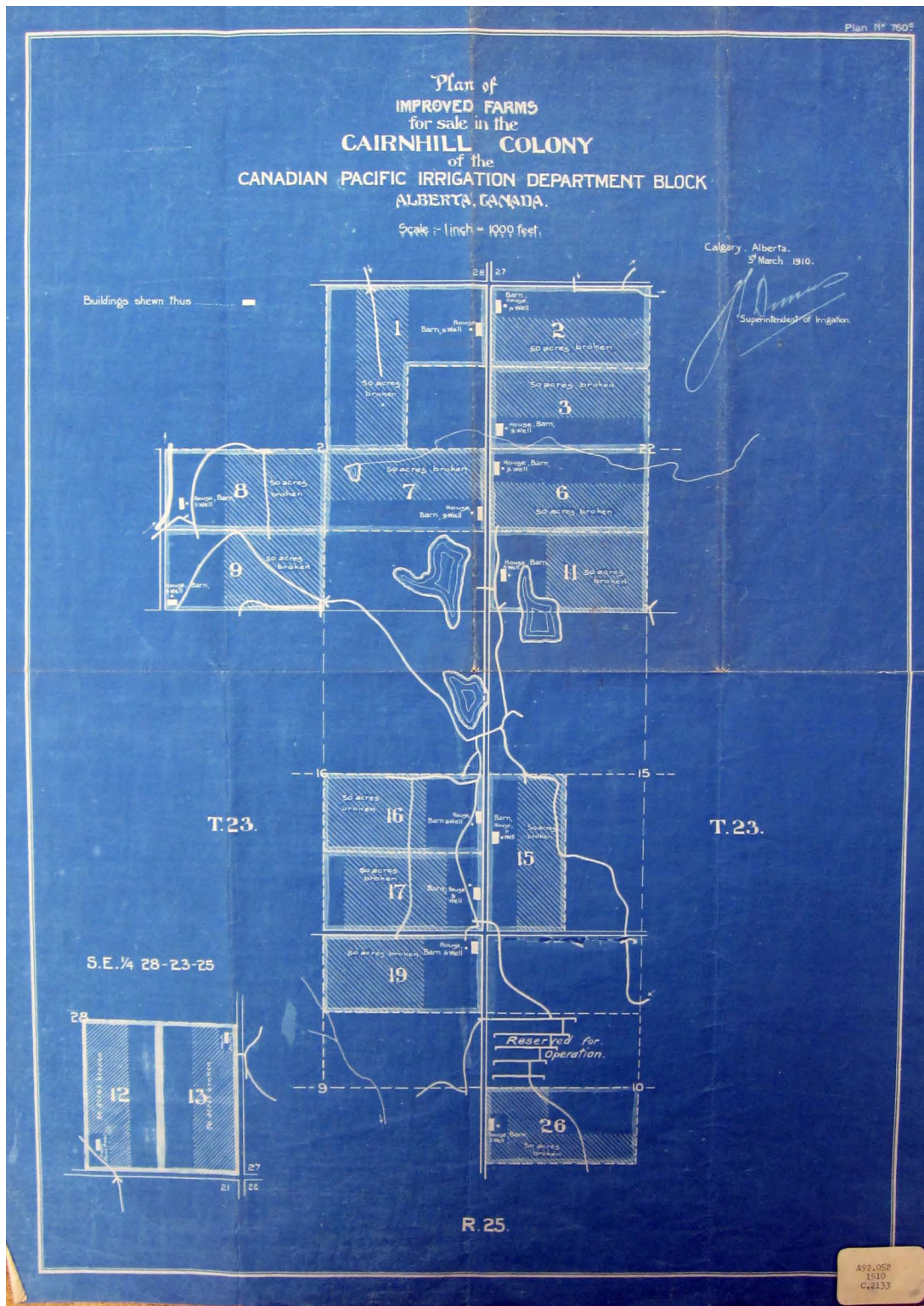


Figure 3-20: Map of Cairnhill ready-made farm colony, 1910. Glenbow Library, Map A92.052 1910 C.2133.

Ready-made farmhouses at Cairnhill were located along a central road, within close proximity to one another wherever possible.



Figure 3-21: C.P.R. Ready-Made Farm poster, 1912. Glenbow Archives Poster-22.

In this image, an ideal family unit enjoys a prosperous, self-sufficient life on a ready-made farm. The text points to the farm's easy access to a broader social community.



Figure 3-22: C.P.R. Poster, 1923. CP Archives BR196. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Following the end of the ready-made farm program, railway promotional material continued to depict British-looking settlers on picturesque mixed farms. Compare with Figure 3-21, which shares many of the same pictorial elements.

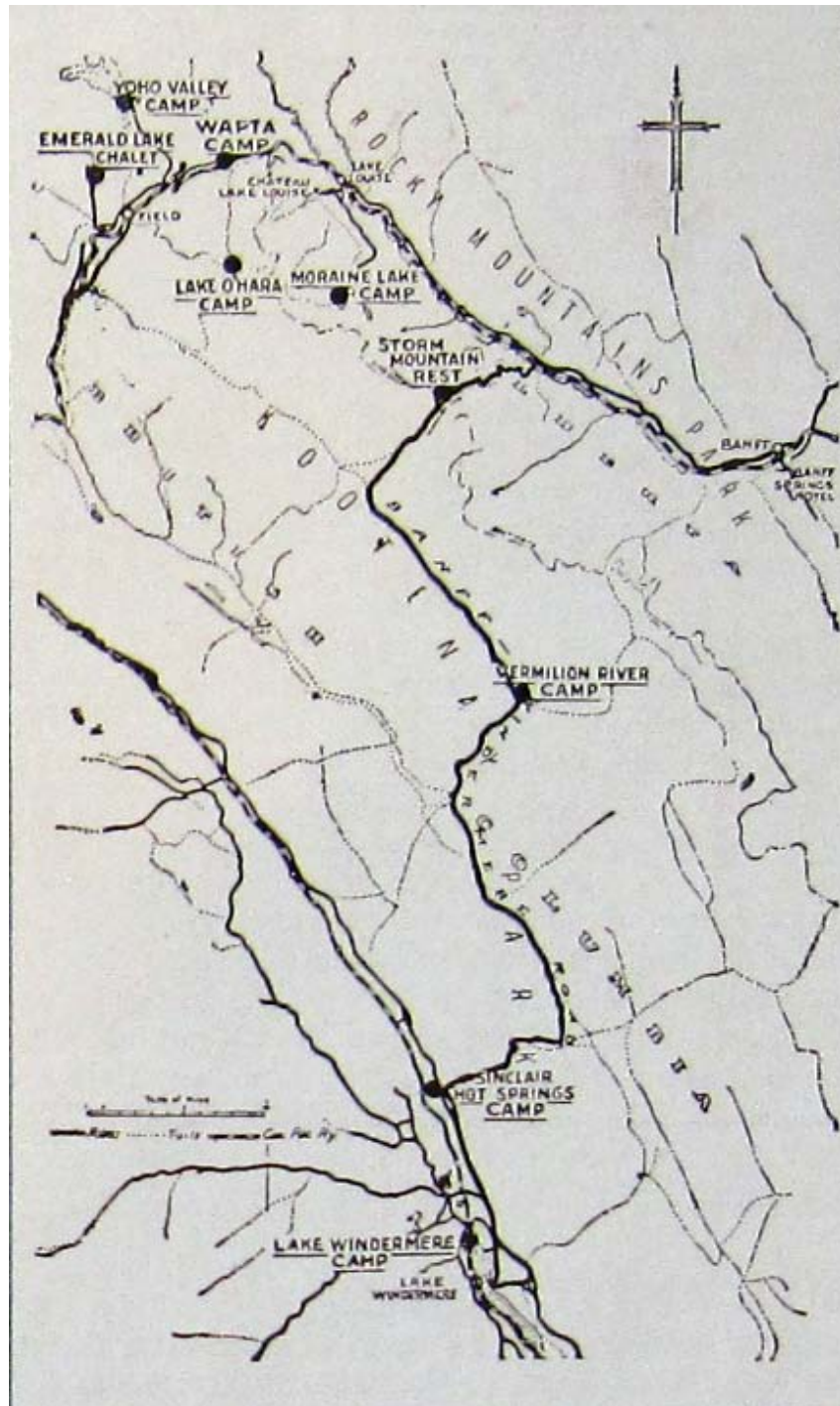


Figure 4-1: Locations of bungalow camps. From *Bungalow Camps in Canada* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923). Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The bungalow camps were distributed in two groupings: Moraine Lake, Lake O'Hara, Wapta, Yoho Valley and Emerald Lake Camps are within hiking or riding distance from each other between Field and Lake Louise, while Storm (Castle) Mountain, Vermilion River, Sinclair (Radium) Hot Springs, and Lake Windermere Camps are situated along the Banff-Windermere Highway.

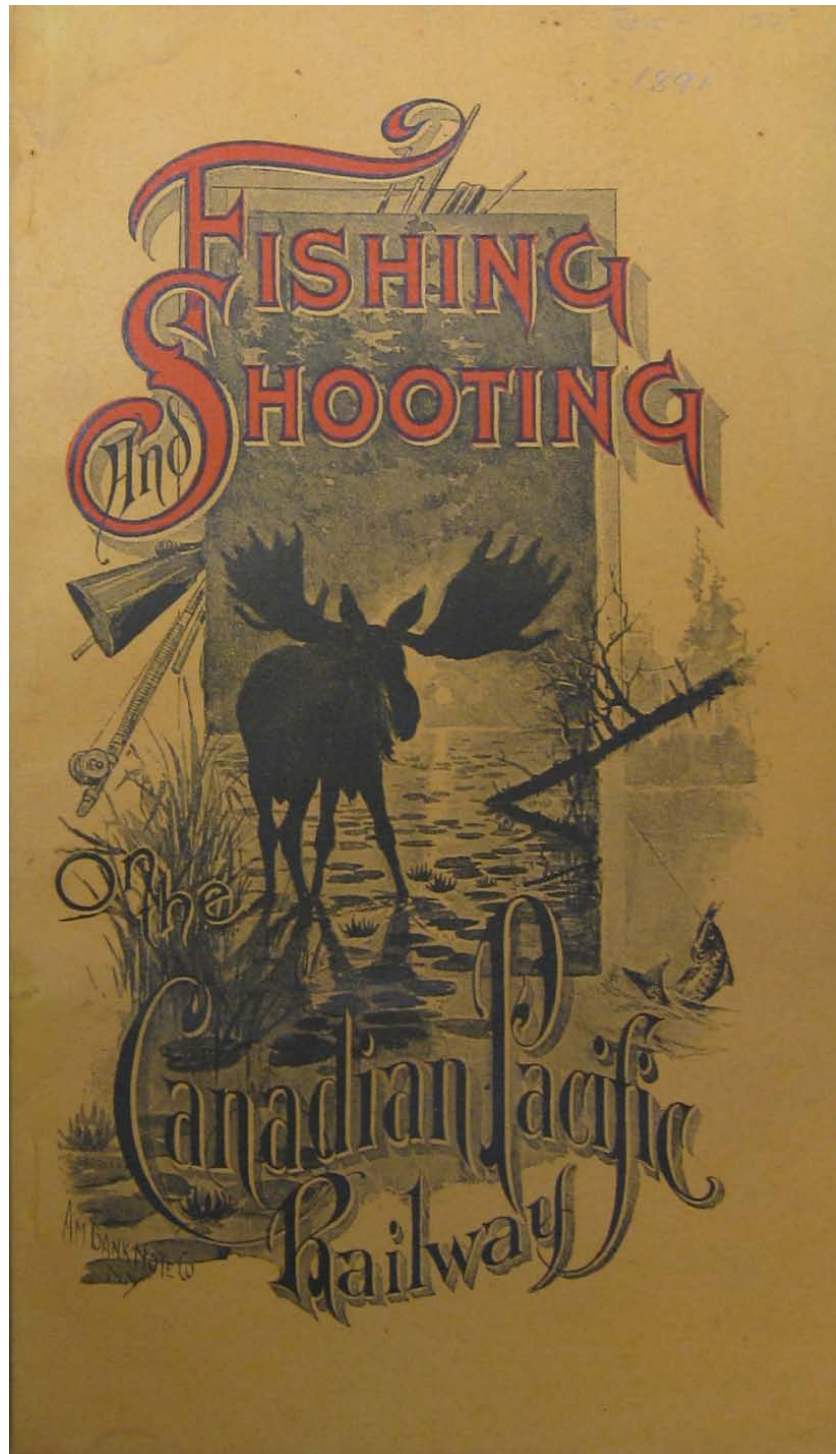


Figure 4-2: Cover of *Fishing and Shooting on the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1891). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00192. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This was an early edition of a long-standing guide issued by the C.P.R., describing hunting and fishing grounds along their rail lines.



Figure 4-3a: Foldout view of *Sportsman's Map of Canada* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1910). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00194. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

While almost equal portions of the United States and Canada are shown on this map, the red captions marking the presence of game are concentrated in Canada. This reinforced the misleading notion that Canada remained a wilderness game preserve, even after forests in the United States were “hunted out.” Also see detail, Figure 4-3b.



Figure 4-3b: Detail, *Sportsman's Map of Canada* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1910). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00194. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Captions in red include “forest full of big and small game extending to the Atlantic Ocean,” “moose, elk, deer, caribou and bear,” and labels indicating individual species such as “lake trout,” “salmon,” and “grizzly.” These labels are entirely positioned in Canadian territory, with the exception of a few labels along branch railway lines near Lake Superior.



Figure 4-4: Emerald Lake Chalet, 1902. Photo ca. 1910-1919. Glenbow Archives NA-5227-3.

Construction using peeled, neatly square timbers and details such as the stepped roof corbels evoked Swiss chalet construction, reflecting the idea that the Canadian Rockies were a North American Switzerland. Note the setting of Emerald Lake Chalet, surrounded by conifer trees with a lake just beyond, and mountains in the background. Originally, guests stayed in rooms inside the chalet, which was the only building on the property. Between 1906 and 1912, outlying cabins were added to provide additional accommodation of a different type.



Figure 4-5: Lake O’Hara Bungalow Camp, 1921. CP Archives NS16537. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The first development named and promoted as a “bungalow camp” by the C.P.R., the Lake O’Hara central lodge and cabins were built with round, peeled logs. This gave the structures a rougher feel than the constructions at Emerald Lake, and referred to American log cabin models. Lake O’Hara Bungalow Camp was originally located in a clearing removed from the lake, and later relocated to the shoreline.

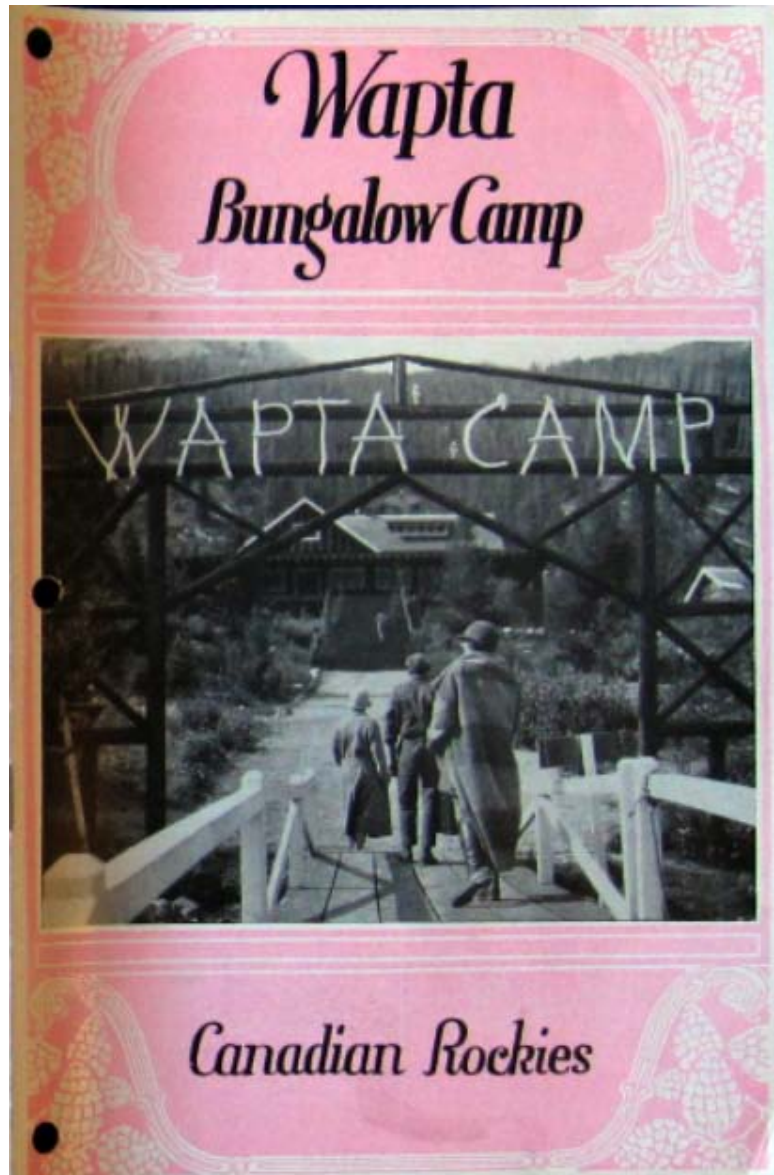


Figure 4-6: Brochure cover, *Wapta Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The rounded log chalet of Wapta Bungalow Camp is visible in the centre of this image, and one of the sleeping cabins can be seen to the right. The photo is taken from the boat landing on Wapta Lake, the arrival point of most guests.

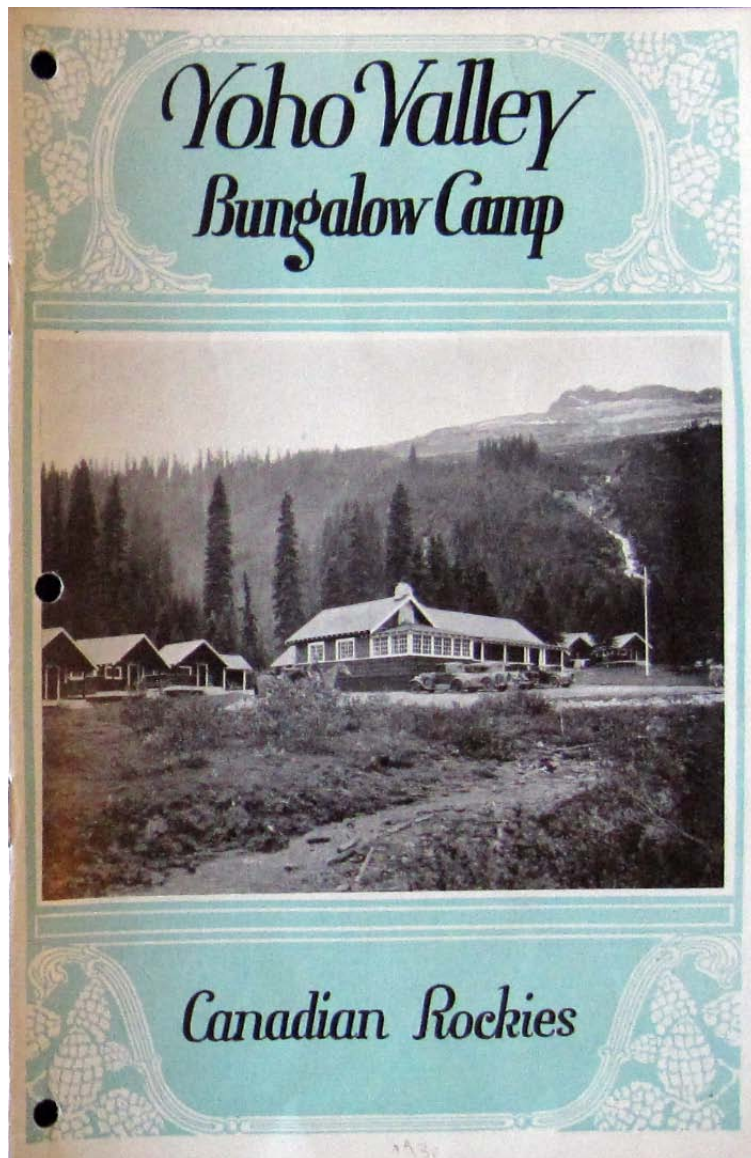


Figure 4-7: Brochure cover, *Yoho Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Built in 1922, the buildings at Yoho Bungalow Camp are the only ones in the series clad with milled boards. A lower band of wood shingled siding adds a hint of a rough, rustic aesthetic.

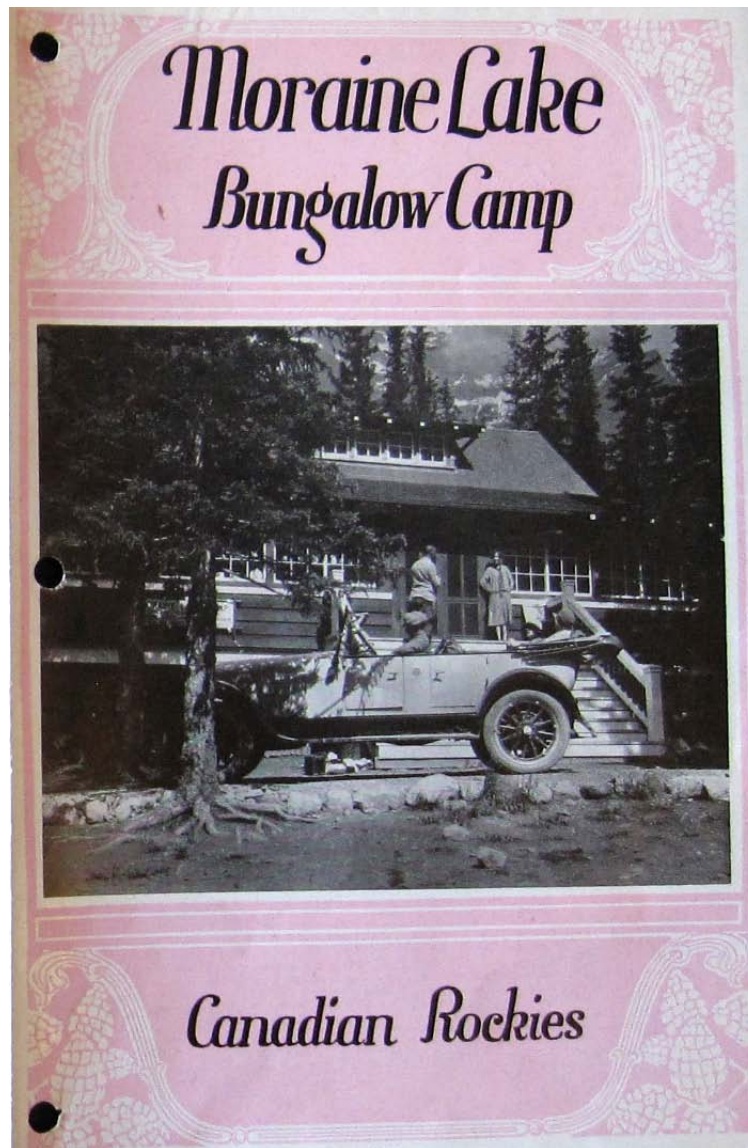


Figure 4-8: Brochure cover, *Moraine Lake Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

From the scant photographic evidence available, it appears that the chalet at Moraine Lake was constructed using either squared timbers or the *pièce-sur-pièce* method of horizontally stacking roughly squared logs with tapered ends, and locking them in place with vertical posts. This latter technique was imported from northwestern France, and widely used in French settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley as well as in Red River Valley settlements and for inland Hudson's Bay posts.

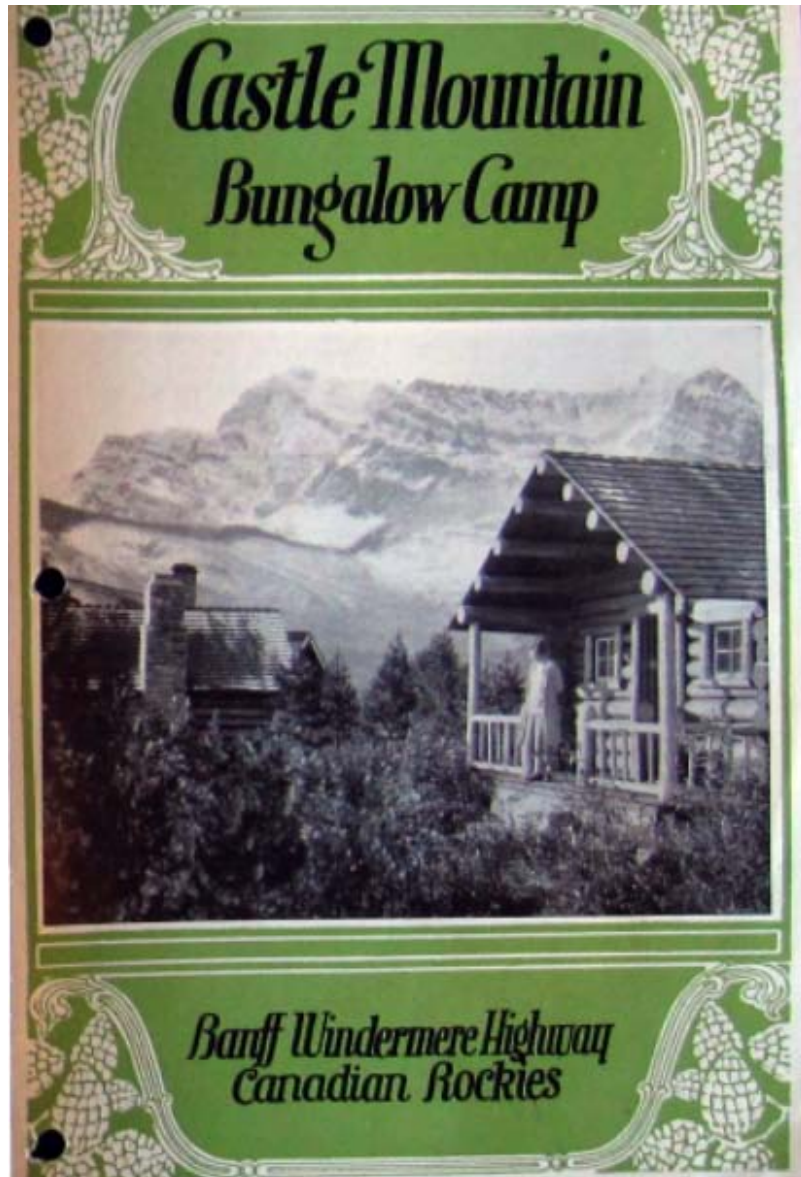


Figure 4-9: Brochure cover, *Castle Mountain Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In perhaps the most developed iteration of the bungalow camp, the sleeping cabins at Castle Mountain were made with saddle-notched rounded logs. Additional logs formed purlins, posts, balconies, and window and door frames. Each cabin had its own fireplace, with a stone chimney.

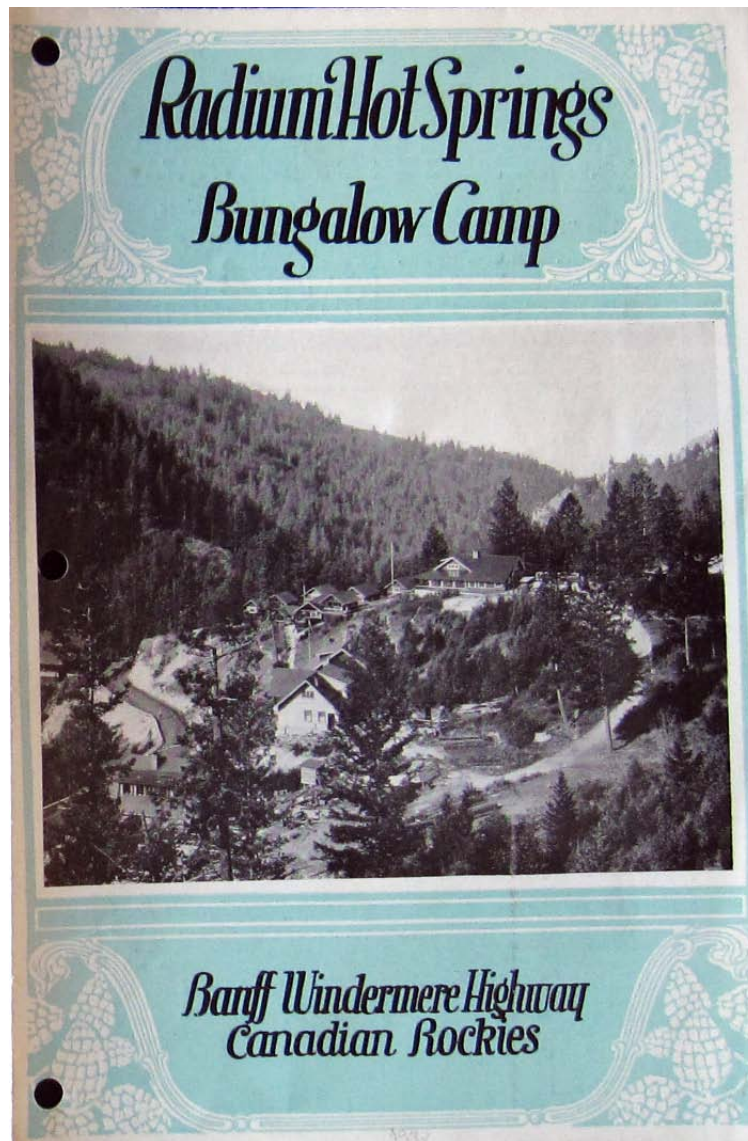


Figure 4-10: Brochure cover, *Radium Hot Springs Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Located near Sinclair Canyon and the hot springs on the Banff-Windermere highway, this location featured a series of cabins perched on the edge of a cliff. Construction method is not clear from the available photos.

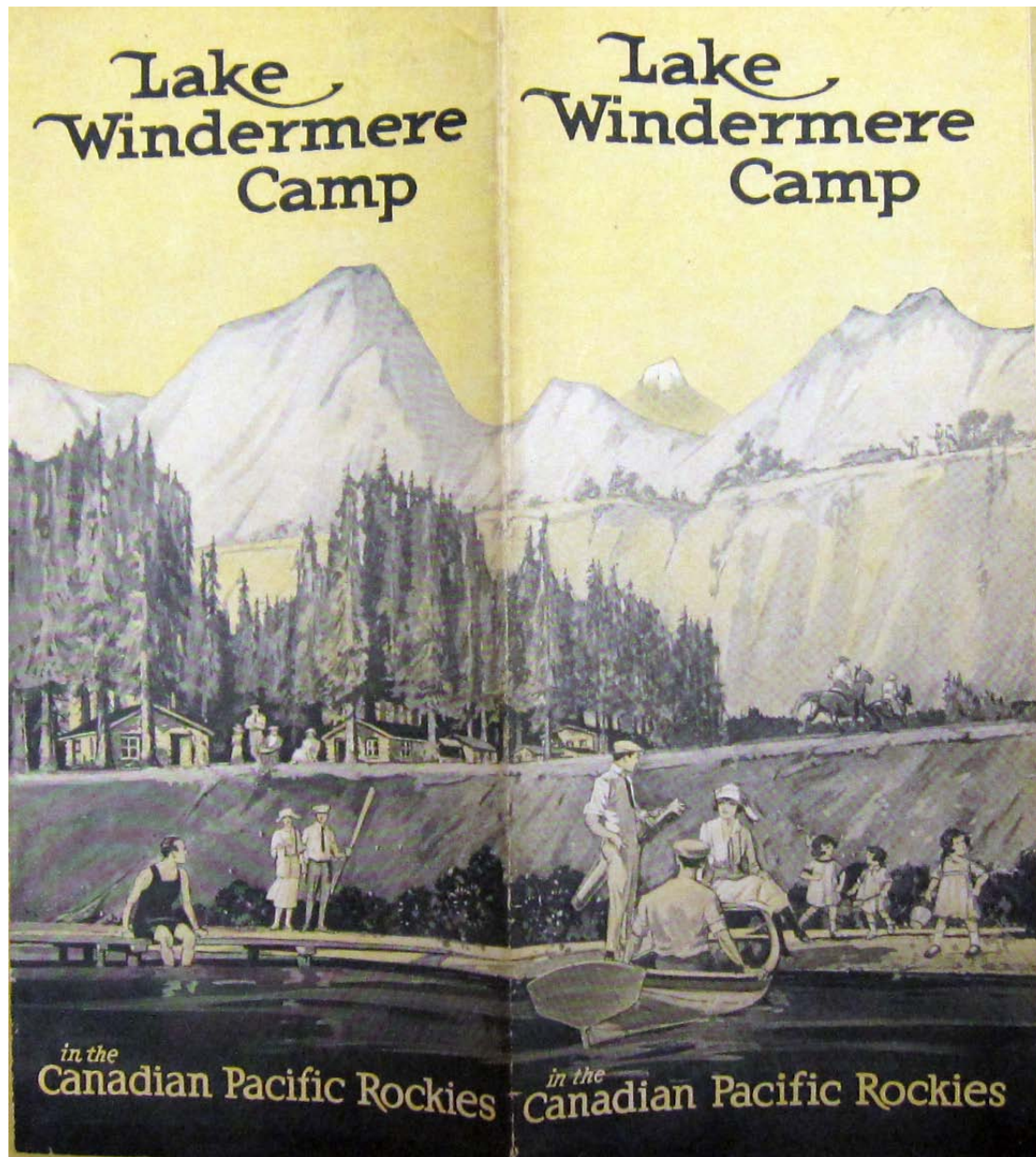


Figure 4-11: Brochure cover, *Lake Windermere Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1920). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00134. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Officially opened on July 1, 1920, structures at Lake Windermere Camp were built with heavy timber 4x4s, which approximated the look of the squared logs used at locations including Emerald Lake and Wapta Lake.

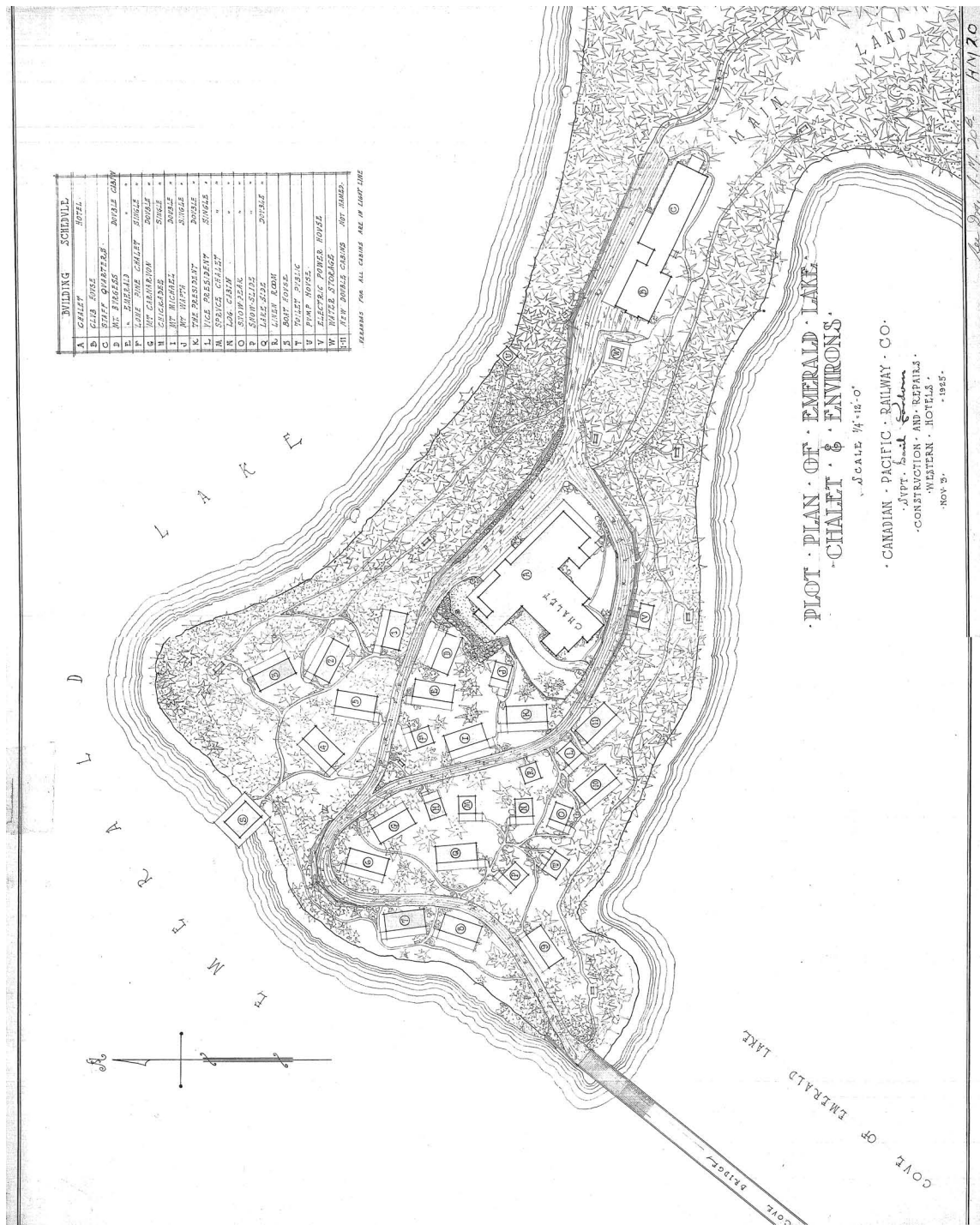


Figure 4-12: Site Plan of Emerald Lake Chalet & Environs, November 1925. Glenbow Archives M-7588-44, C.P.R. Hotel Department Fonds.

In 1925, the C.P.R.'s Emerald Lake development included a communal chalet and dining hall (centre), club house with adjoining staff quarters (long building to right of centre), as well as outlying single and double sleeping cabins with names of natural features in the area, such as Mt. Burgess, Mt. Carnarvon, Spruce Chalet, and Snow Peak. Auxiliary structures included a boat house, public toilet, pump house, and electric power house.



Figure 4-13: Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp after relocation. *Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In 1926, the cabins and chalet of Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp were moved from the earlier meadow site to the shoreline. In this photo, the lodge is partially visible behind a screen of trees, to the right of the image.



Figure 4-14: Charles Eisen, frontispiece to 2nd edition of Abbé Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*, 1755.

A crucial component of the 18th century primitive hut discourse, Eisen's engraving presented a quasi-natural structure resembling a stripped-down Greek temple, which he argued offered a rational model for architectural construction.



Figure 4-15: A willow cathedral, from James Hall, *Essay on the Origin, History, and Principles of Gothic Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1813).

An experiment by Sir James Hall, to demonstrate the evolution of Gothic architecture from a simple construction of ash post and willow rods.

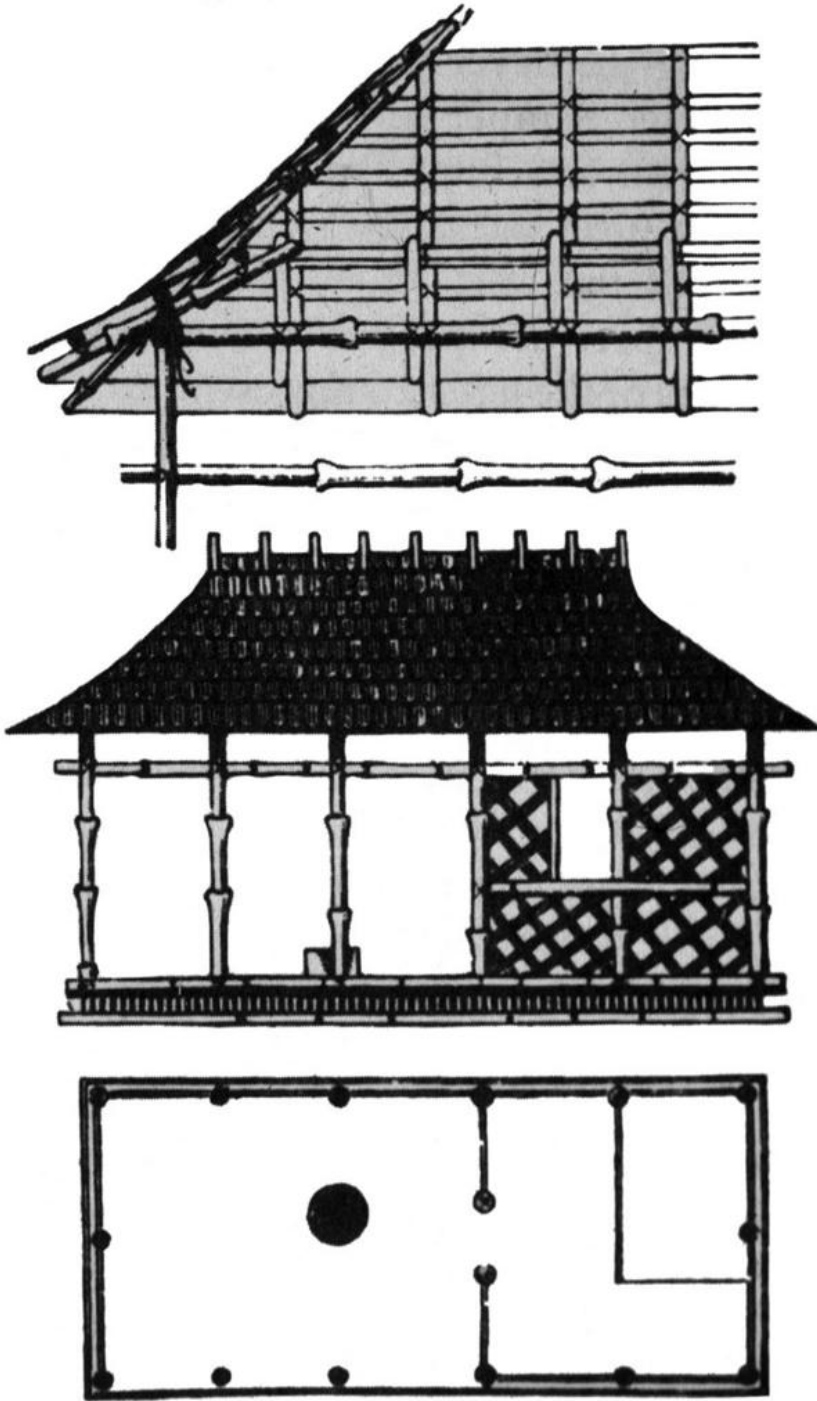


Figure 4-16: “The Caraïb Hut,” Gottfried Semper *Der Stil* (2nd ed, 1878). Reproduced in Gottfried Semper and Francis Mallgrave, ed., *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

For Semper, this hut at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London demonstrated the use of his four originating elements of architectural construction: textiles composing the plaited walls, ceramics used for the hearth (visible as a round, raised firepit in the centre of the structure), stereotomy for the foundation, and carpentry in the roof.



Figure 4-17: Logo from masthead of “The Log Cabin,” November 6, 1841.

Edited by Horace Greeley, “The Log Cabin” promoted candidate General William Henry Harrison by suggesting that he was born and raised in a log cabin. Note the words “Retrenchment and Reform” on the American flag. The success of the campaign relied on a image of the log cabin as a site of honesty, humility renewal.



Figure 4-18: Camp Pine Knot in the Adirondacks, architect William West Durand, ca. 1879. Reproduced in Harvey Kaiser, *Great Camps of the Adirondacks* (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1982), 74.

In the *Great Camps of the Adirondacks*, the American pioneer log cabin was enlarged and adapted to decorative effect. Here, rounded and peeled logs form both structure and decoration; peeled twigs are arranged in varying patterns within the balcony rail and in gables.



Figure 4-19: Old Faithful Inn, Yellowstone National Park, architect Robert Reamer, 1903. Postcard view from 1909, Matteson Postcards.

The inaugural building in a “park rustic” style, later used throughout the American National Parks, Old Faithful Inn was designed as a log cabin enlarged to gigantic proportions. Note the peeled twig brackets, stacked timber piers, and boulder foundations, which recall Adirondack cabin motifs.

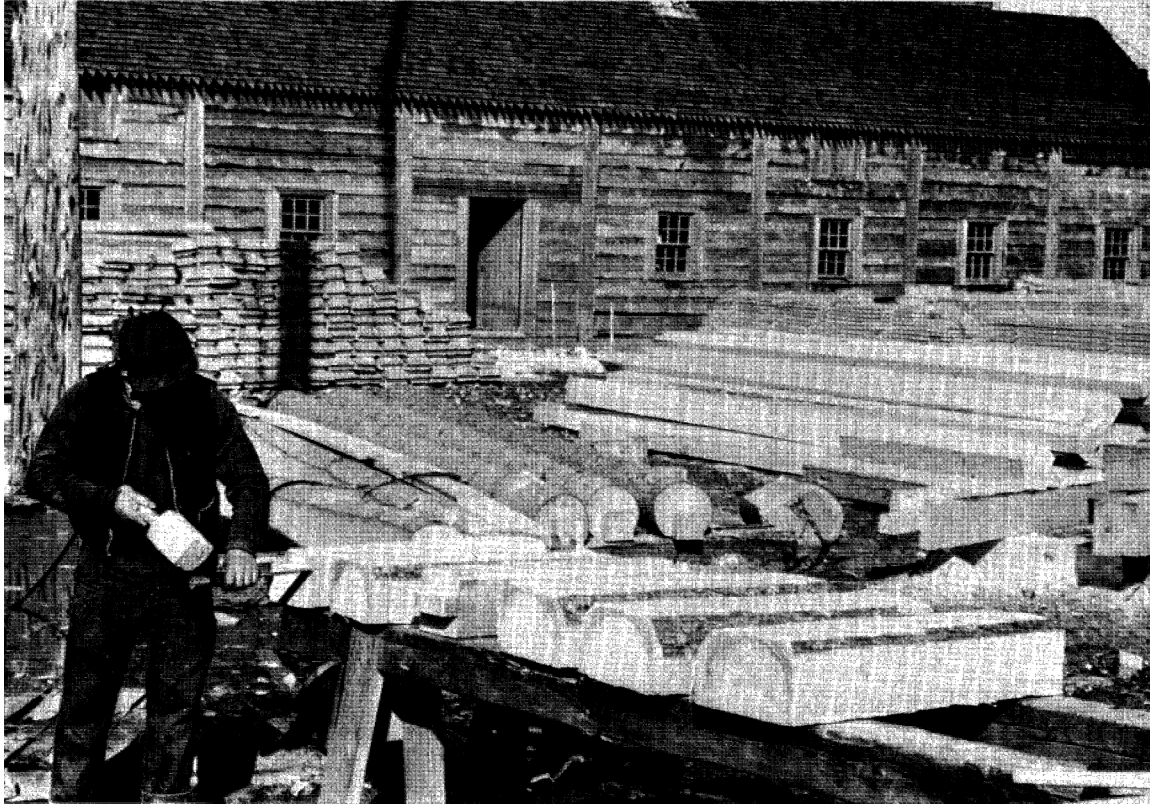


Figure 4-20: Preparing log sections for *pièce-sur-pièce* log construction, Fort Edmonton, ca. 1979. From William C. Wonders, "Log Dwellings in Canadian Folk Architecture." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 2 (1979), 196.

Pièce-sur-pièce construction, also known as Red River frame or Hudson's Bay Company frame, used logs that were notched, then fitted into vertical posts. Note use of the technique in reconstructed men's quarters of Fort Edmonton, in rear of image.

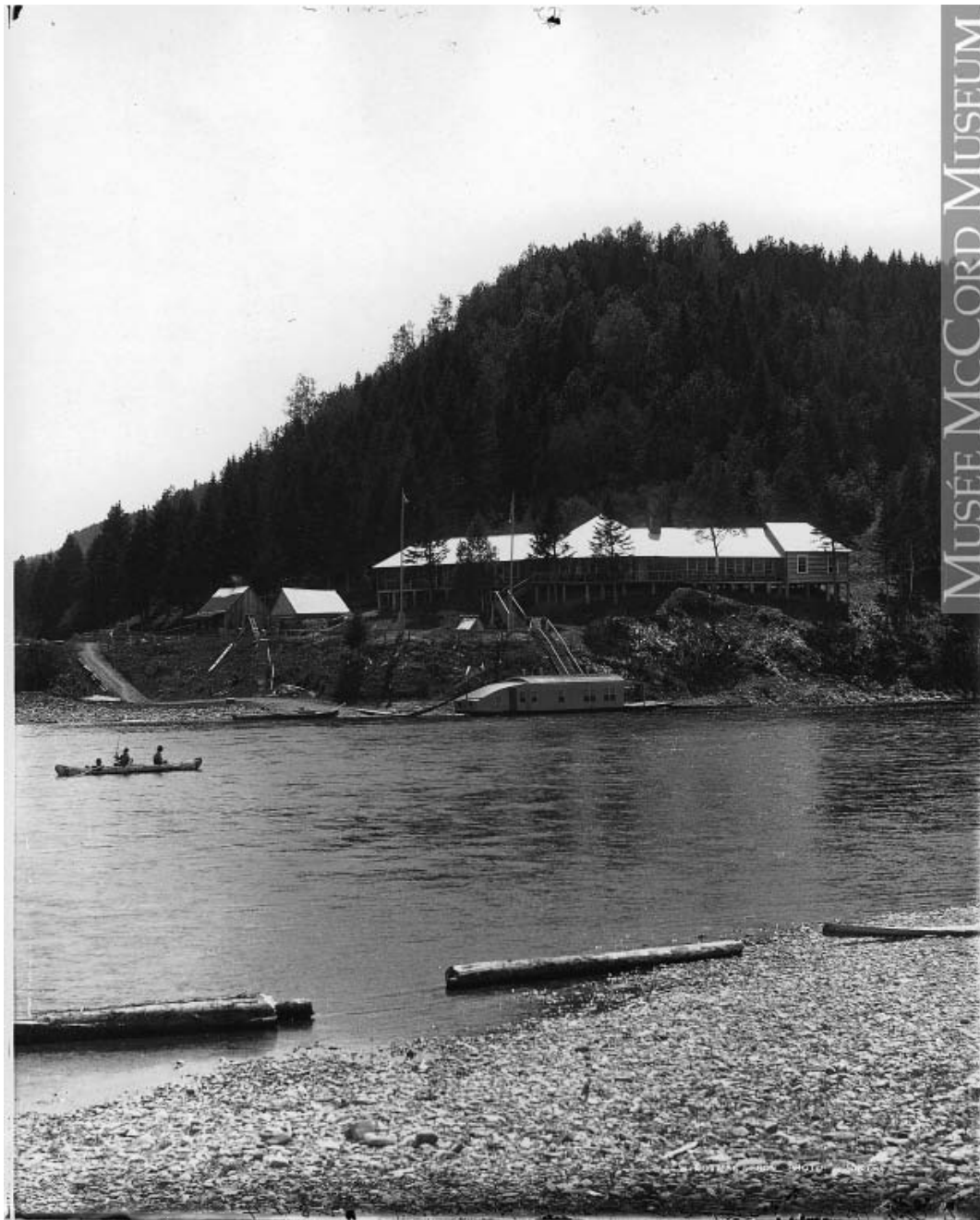


Figure 4-21: Fishing lodge at Camp Harmony, New Brunswick, architect Stanford White, ca. 1898. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, VIEW-2844.

Located on the Restigouche River, which runs from Southeastern Quebec through the province of New Brunswick, Camp Harmony was renowned among upper-class Canadians and Americans for its access to salmon fishing. The lodge is built from debarked logs. It is newly completed since the support piers are exposed; they were later screened in with logs.



Figure 4-22: Emerald Lake Chalet with 1925 extension. Photo by Byron Harmon. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies V263 NA71-5231. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In 1925, Emerald Lake Chalet was nearly doubled in size with the addition of a new wing to the side of the original structure, at right. The earlier construction idiom was maintained, and was accentuated by details like the hefty columns extended through both stories to support the new roof. Compare to Figure 4-4.

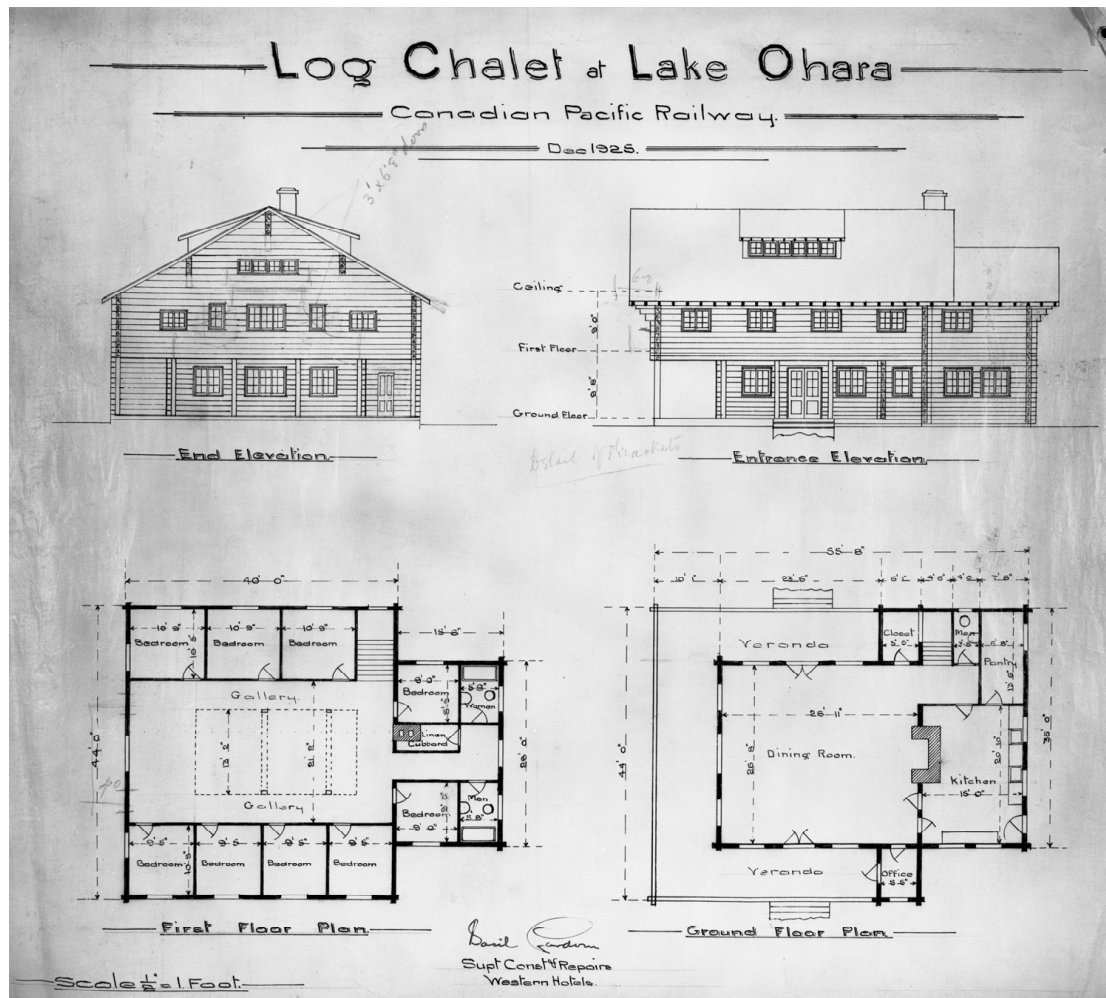


Figure 4-23: Plans for “Log Cabin at Lake O’Hara.” Glenbow Archives P-4880-8, C.P.R. Hotel Department Fonds.

Like many of the central chalets in bungalow camps, the lodge at Lake O’Hara was oriented around a two-story dining room and boasted an oversized central hearth. Compare to Figure 4-23. Note that certain features were modified during construction: a cantilevered balcony was added at the gable end, and seven-stepped corbels (rather than the four-stepped designs on the drawings) were used to support the roof.



Figure 4-24: Lodge at Lake O'Hara Camp, ca. 2000-2010. From www.tripadvisor.com

This photograph shows the dining room elevation, facing left on the previous drawings. The projecting balcony and corbels supporting the roof were part of the 1926 design for the reconstructed lodge; the ground floor verandah has been filled in more recently.



Figure 4-25: Interior of cabin and main lodge at Lake O'Hara. From *Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp*, (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The interior walls of the main chalet and sleeping cabins were finished in lathing, creating an effect reminiscent of Swiss half-timbering. The same technique was used in Moraine Lake lodge, though other interiors showed exposed logs. The caption reads: "Three pictures of Lake O'Hara Camp which show its substantial construction. At the side is a picture of the Living Room of the central chalet; at the top is one of the sleeping bungalows."



Figure 4-26: Storm Mountain sleeping cabin, 2010. Photo by James Mallinson.

The original structures have been retained at Storm Mountain Bungalow Camp, which in 2010 is still running, under non-C.P.R. ownership. Note the use of rounded logs, including for the oversized roof purlins, door frame, window frames, and balcony railing.



Figure 4-27: Lodge at Storm Mountain, exterior, 2010. Photo by James Mallinson.



Figure 4-28: Lodge at Storm Mountain, interior, 2010. Photo by James Mallinson.

The original structure had an open verandah, which is now enclosed to form a gift shop and additional seating for the dining area. The gift shop is visible beyond the wall on the left side of the image. Note the oversized hearth, which dominates the room, and exposed structural logs that cover interior surfaces.



Figure 4-29: Lodge at Vermilion River Camp (now Kootenay Park Lodge), 2010. Photo by James Mallinson.

The name of the lodge has changed, but the original structure has been completely retained, including the open verandah configuration. The design is strikingly similar to the lodge at Storm Mountain Camp, Figure 4-26.



Figure 4-30: Natural Bridge Tea House, ca. 1903-1942. Photo by Byron Harmon. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies V263-NA5277. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This was one of a series of rest houses erected at scenic points in the vicinity of the bungalow camps. They were constructed in a similar style to bungalow camps such as Castle Mountain and Vermilion River. Note the log walls, brackets, balcony railing, and gable detailing.



Figure 4-31: Sleeping cabin at Wapta Lake Camp, from Betty Thornley. *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*. (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This depiction of a bungalow interior at Wapta Lake shows casual elements typical of home décor at the time: blue floral curtains, simple tables and bedsteads. Elements such as the books and framed photos on the window sill add to the home-like feel of the image, while the firewood, log walls and hanging fur pelt reinforce its identity as a backwoods cabin. Note the outline of a mountain, visible from the windows.

The text, used as the epigraph to this chapter, reads: “It’s too early for breakfast, so you tuck some triscuits into your pocket and a bit of chocolate, and slip out of your brown and beige bungalow with the blue curtains. Over your shoulder you look at all the other little bungalows backed into the mountain with a green lake at their toes; you fill your lungs down to the last lazy quarter-inch with Rocky Mountain air; and if you don’t fly then and there, it’s because you know walking is going to be so much more fun.”



Figure 4-32: Women tending to a cabin. From *Wapta Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This photograph of a cabin at Wapta Bungalow Camp shows similar curtains and bedsteads to those in the previous illustration, Figure 4-30. The women may be two of the three long-time managers of the establishment: Miss Barbara Dodds, Mrs. Carr, and Mrs. Martin.



Figure 4-33: Dining on the verandah of Emerald Lake Chalet (top) and Lake Windermere Camp (bottom). From *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1921). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00168. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The architecture and programming of the central lodge building incorporated feminine elements throughout the 1920s. Note the elegant white dresses and hats of the women in these images, as well as the linen tablecloths and porcelain tableware.



Figure 4-34: Interior of lodge at Wapta Bungalow Camp. From Betty Thornley. *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*. (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923), 12-13. Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This interior combines elements of the hunting lodge and living room – the mounted animal trophies and exposed wood rafters are reminiscent of a lodge, while a feminine side is evident in the abundant plants, oriental lanterns, floral curtains, and piano. The central hearth is an element of both the lodge and the family living room. Reinforcing an interpretation of the scene as having a domestic character, the caption reads, “That evening, up at the Community house with its gay flowers and chintzes everywhere, yellow and green and brown like the woods themselves, you join the ring around the blazing logs in the great home fireplace.”



Figure 4-35: Emerald Lake verandah. From Betty Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*. (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923), 14-15. Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Guests at Emerald Lake—the “camp de-luxe”—enjoyed dancing, tennis courts, and private baths. The verandah shown here fits Thornley’s description of the camp, whose guests included “ladies in real riding boots that couldn’t possibly be climbed in and aren’t going to be.”

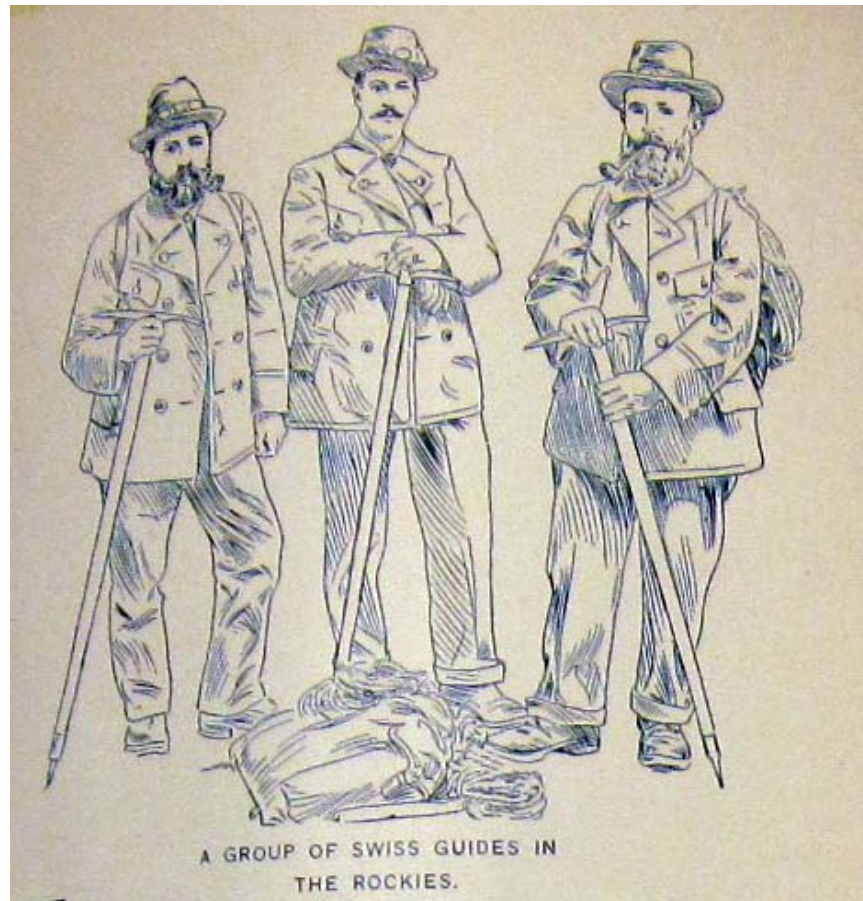


Figure 4-36: “A Group of Swiss Guides in the Rockies,” from *Banff in the Canadian Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1900). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00127. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In the earlier resort hotels, guests enjoyed the novelty of an outdoor climbing excursion with specialized guides from Switzerland, such as those depicted above. By contrast, in bungalow camp vacations, riding and hiking were a primary objective, rather than being exotic excursions.

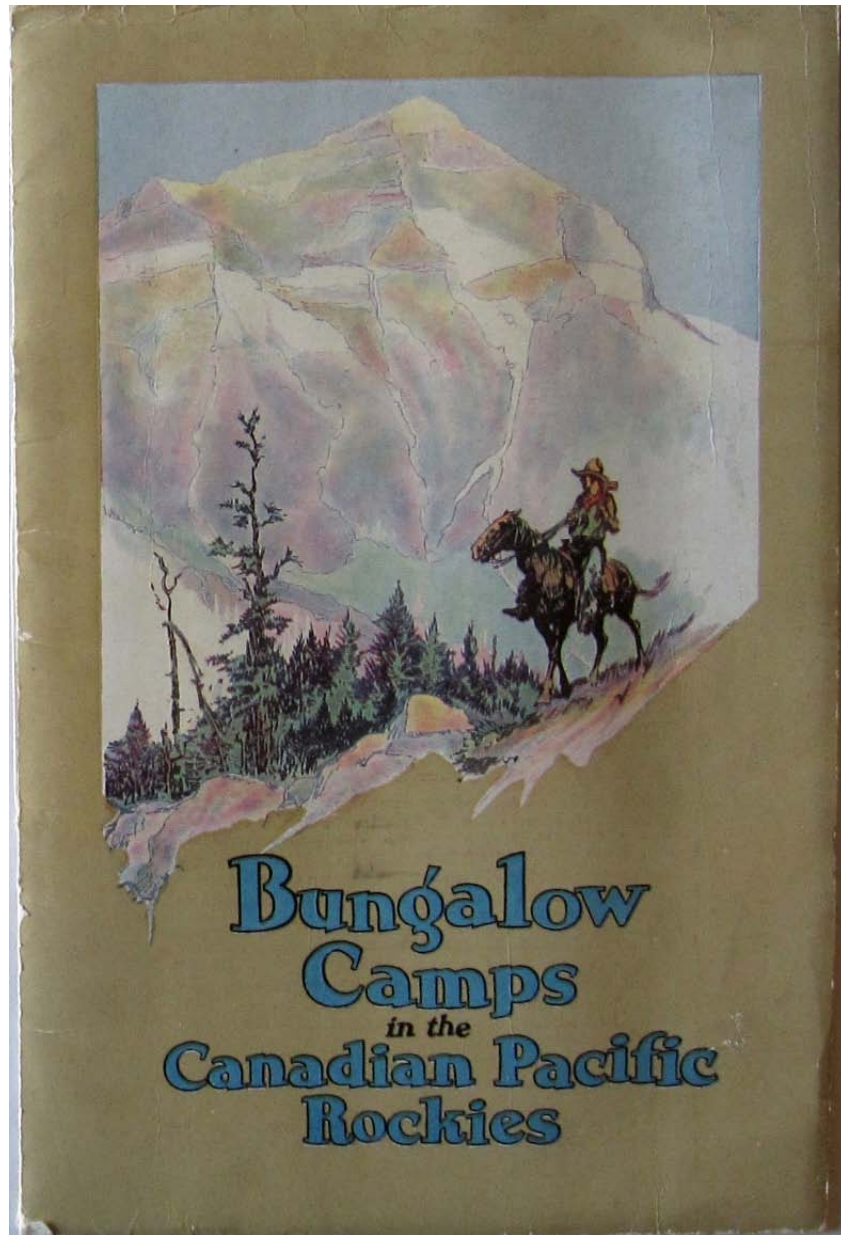


Figure 4-37: Cover image. Betty Thornley, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

The bungalow camp program emphasized opportunities for outdoor recreation, in particular riding, hiking, and canoeing. Many brochures, including this one, feature images of the scenery to be experienced near the camps, rather than images of the bungalow camp buildings.



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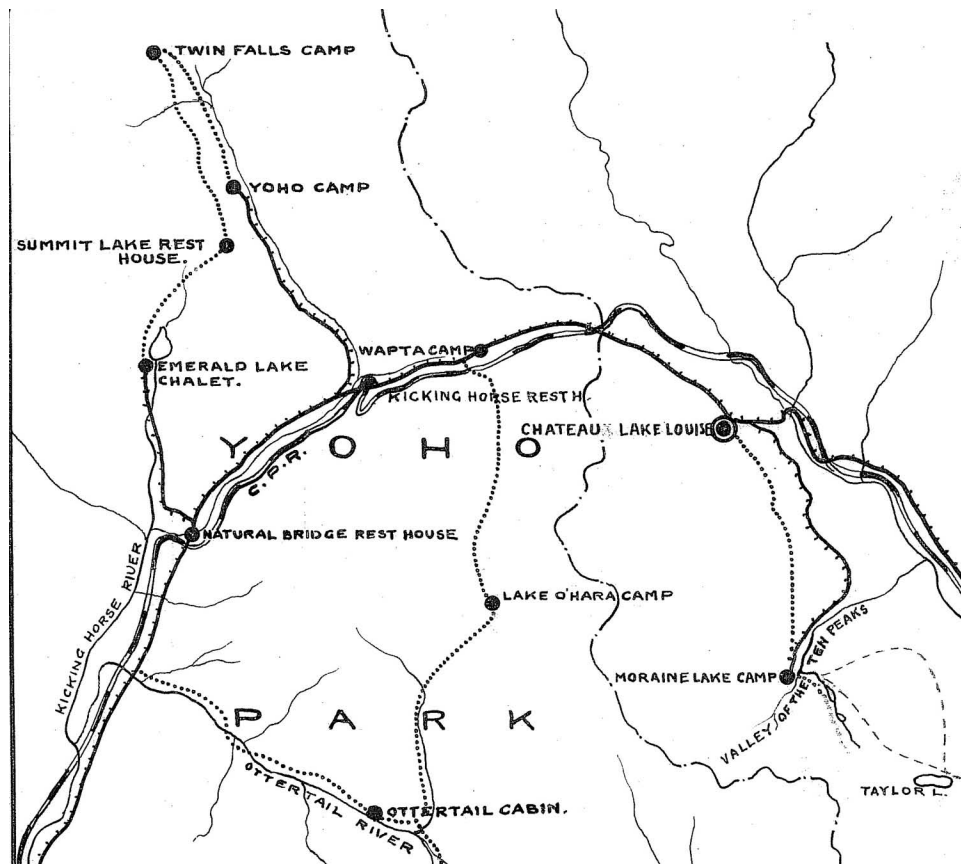


Figure 4-38b: Detail. Map of the Skyline Trail of the Rockies. Glenbow Archives M-7588-43, C.P.R. Hotel Department Fonds.

This detail shows C.P.R. trail networks through the bungalow camp region. Note locations of rest houses (Kicking Horse, Natural Bridge, Summit Lake, and Ottertail) at mid-way points between camps.



Figure 4-39: Bronze medal, Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies, ca. 1925. Image from sportslinkup.com.

Metal buttons were given out to members of the accessible Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies after riding on horseback for cumulative distances of 50, 100, 500, and 2500 miles.

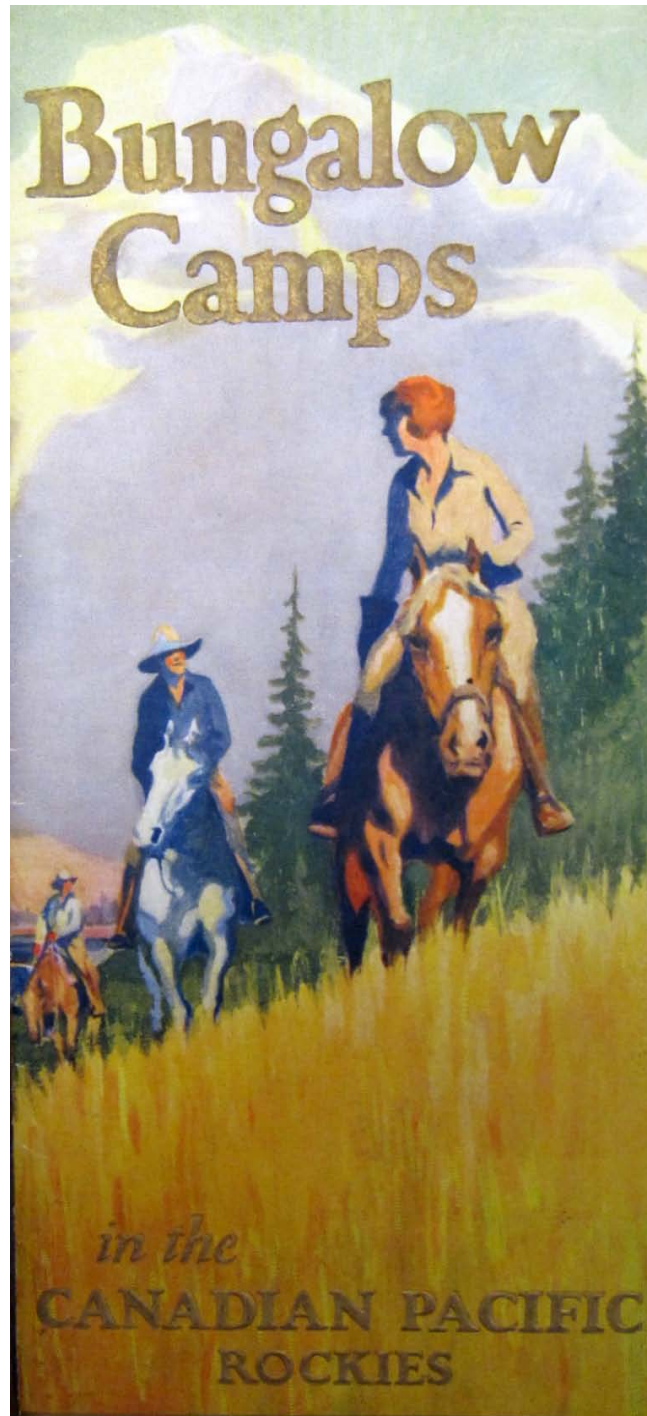


Figure 4-40: Cover of brochure, *Bungalow Camps in the Canadian Pacific Rockies*, (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1923). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00168. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This brochure for the bungalow camps depicts horseback riders, a popular image for the program, rather than the camps themselves. The figure in front is clearly female, and rides astride the horse rather than side saddle.



Figure 4-41: Canadian Pacific Menu Cover, 1928. Illustration by Charles Greenwood. CP Archives BR176. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

A woman is again featured in this graphic, in front of what appears to be Yoho Bungalow camp. Note her loose-fitting clothing, and confident posture astride the horse. The prominence of women was part of an effort to attract an expanded audience to the camps.

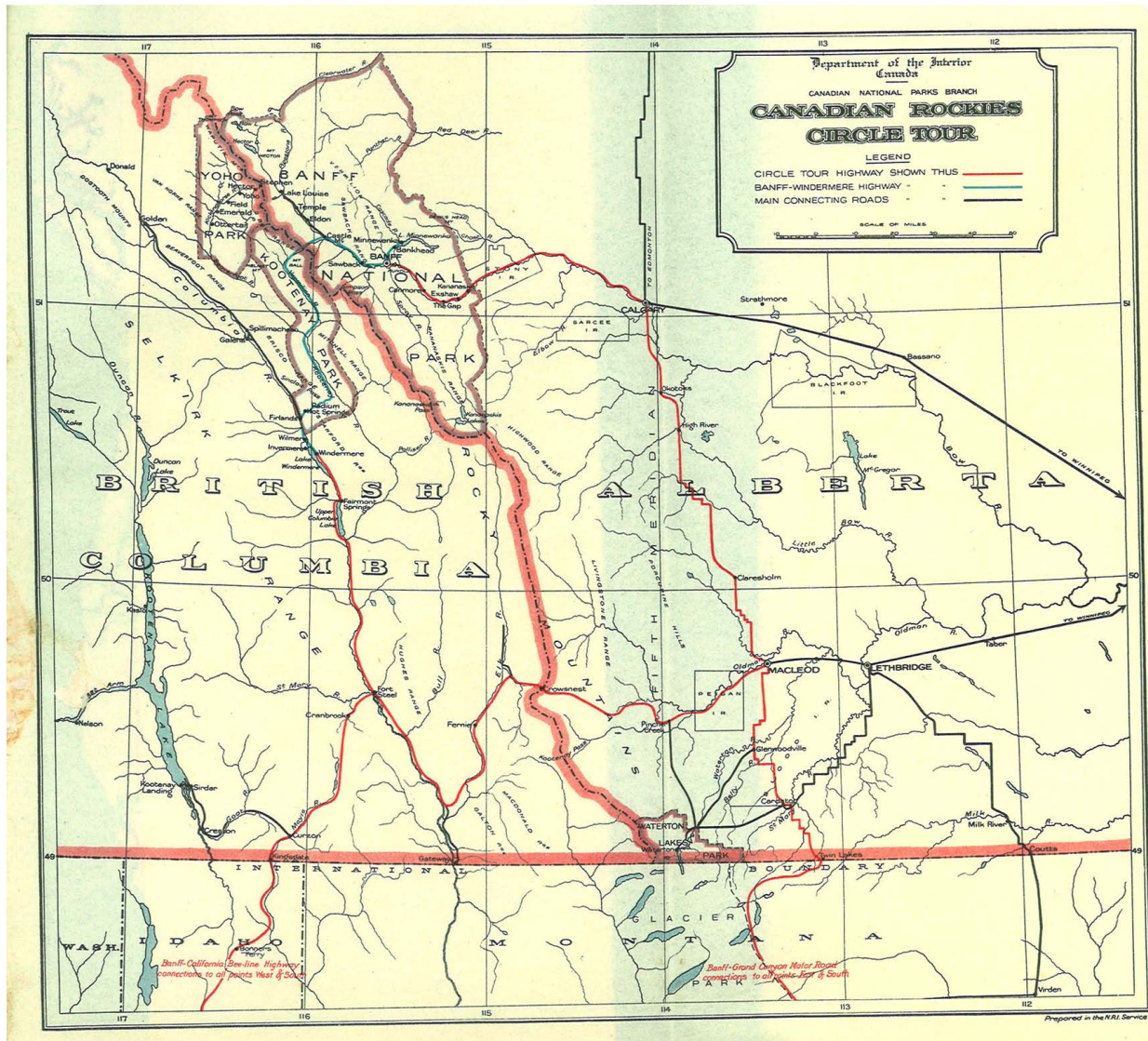


Figure 4-42a: Fold-out map from Canadian government promotional brochure. *The Banff-Windermere Highway* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1923).

This map, included in a Banff-Windermere Highway booklet, shows the connection of the highway to the road network at the time in British Columbia, Alberta, and northern Montana and Idaho. The Banff-Windermere Highway is shown in green, and the red line shows how it connects within a circle tour in Canada and to a larger loop in the United States. Also see detail, Figure 4-41b.

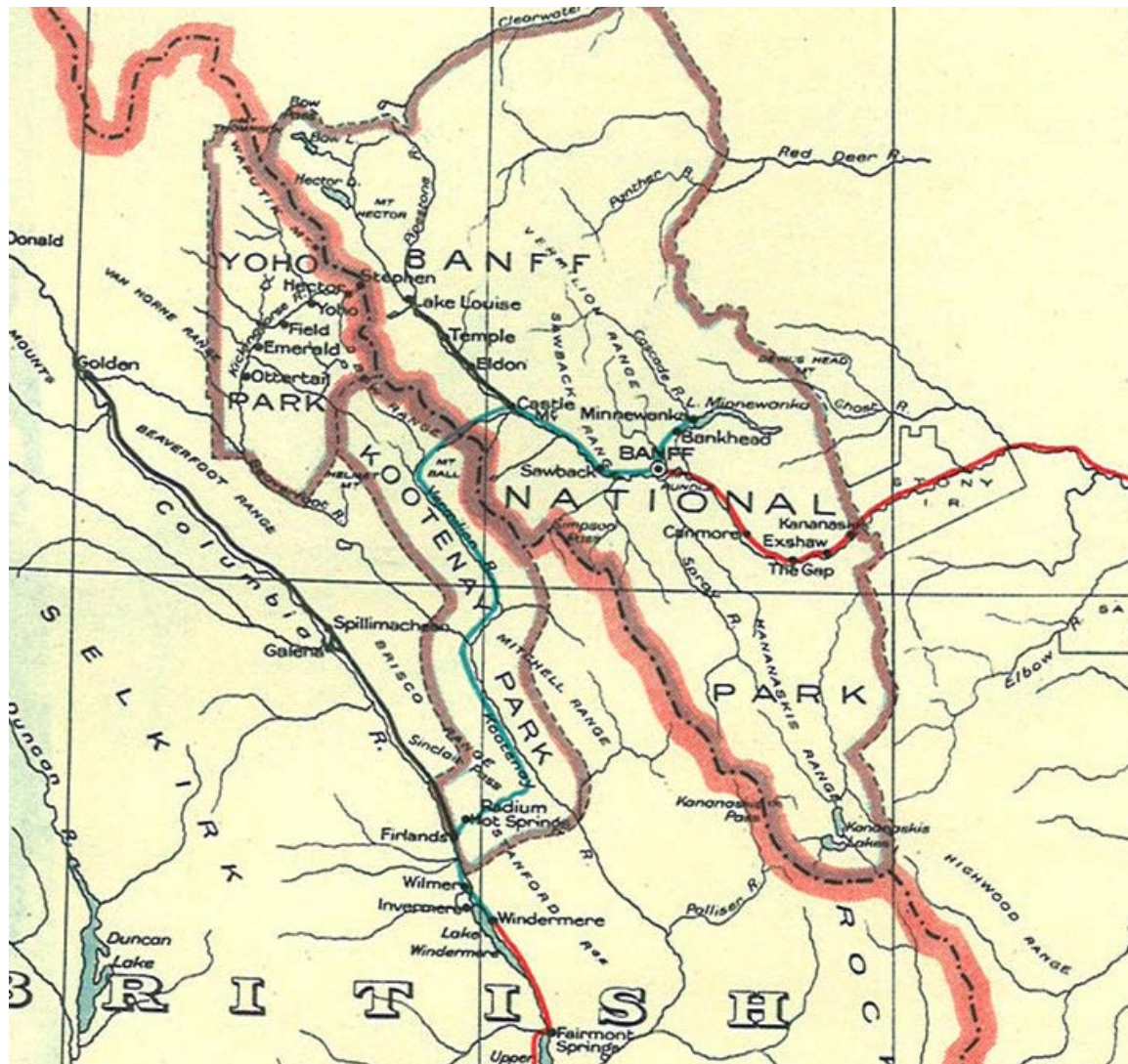


Figure 4-42b: Location of Banff-Windermere Highway. *The Banff-Windermere Highway* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1923).

The Banff-Windermere Highway is shown in green, headed southwest from Banff and running the length of the newly designated Kootenay Park to Windermere.



Figure 4-43: National Park-to-Park Highway Map, 1922.

Designated from existing roads, the Park-to-Park Highway envisaged a continuous loop between all of the national parks in the Western United States.



Figure 4-44: Rocky Mountain bighorn rams and ewes by the Banff-Windermere road. From *The Banff Windermere Highway* (Ottawa, 1923).

Drivers were attracted to the Banff-Windermere Highway by the prospect of seeing “wild” animals from the road, such as these native bighorn sheep. In some areas, salt licks were installed to attract game within full view.

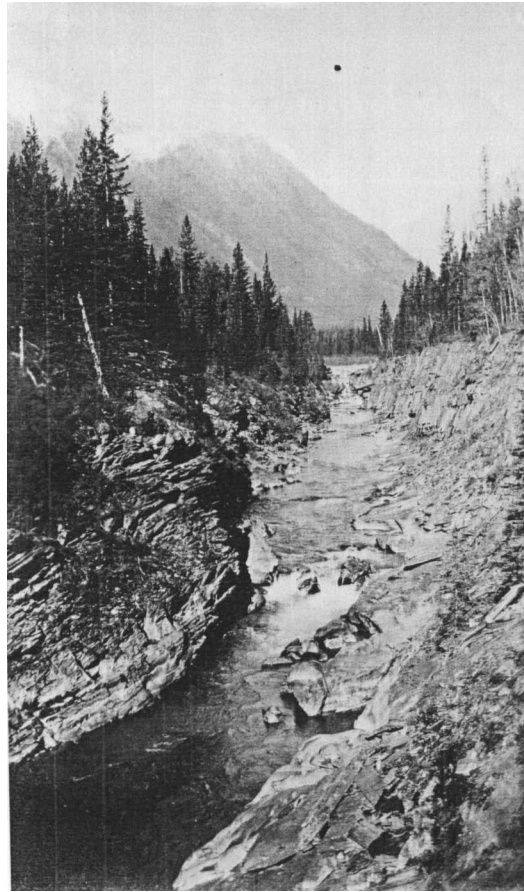


Figure 4-45: Views along the proposed route of the Banff-Windermere Highway, sent by J.S. Dennis to Thomas Shaughnessy on Oct. 23, 1911. CP Archives File 92730. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

These landscape photographs were a primary component in an early proposal to develop the Banff-Windermere Highway. Note that the photos focus on scenic views, rather than the prospective roadbed.

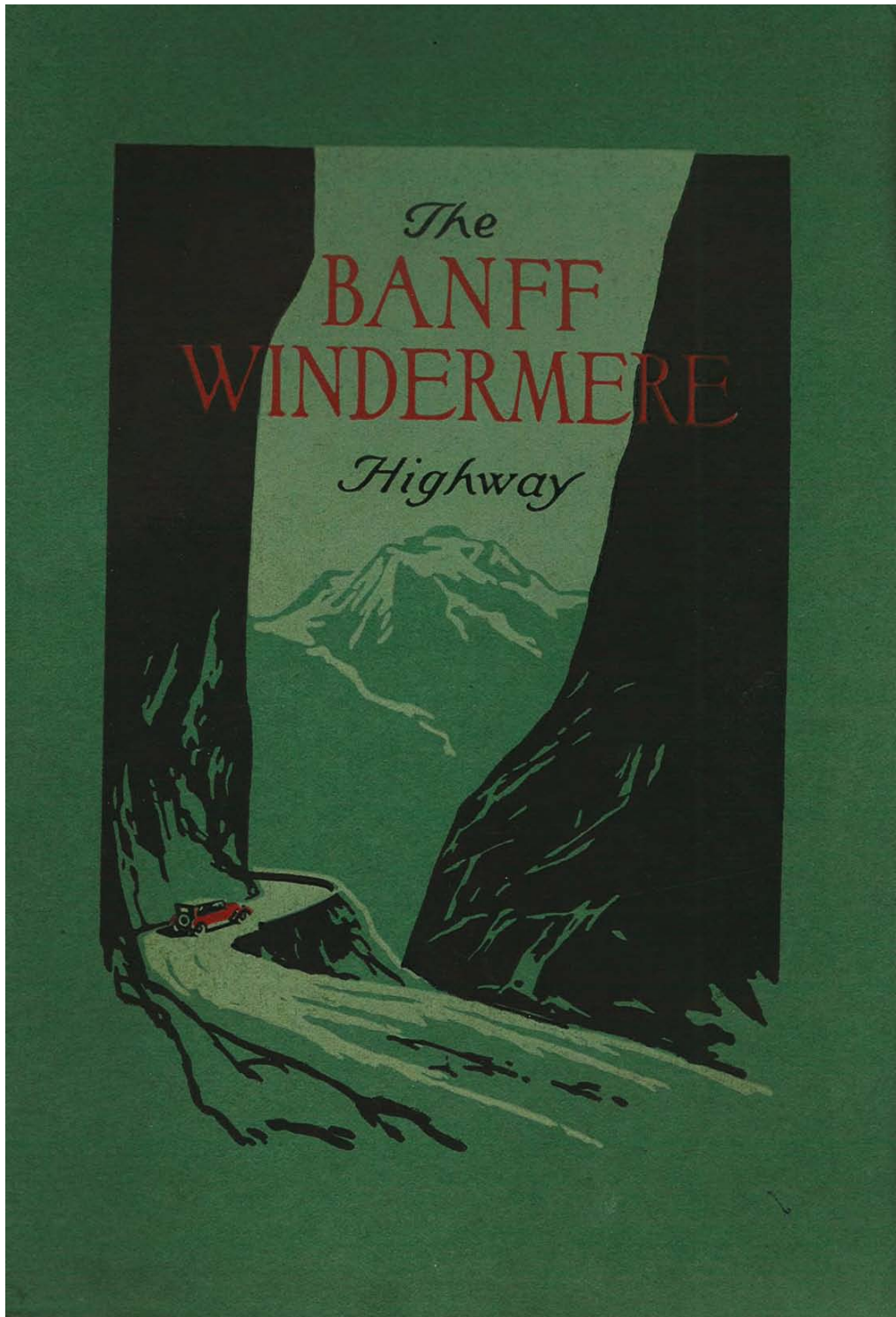


Figure 4-46: Cover from *The Banff Windermere Highway* (Ottawa, 1923).

Promotions for the Banff-Windermere Highway inevitably showcased the Sinclair Canyon section at the south end of the road, often using conventions similar to this image, where cliffs dwarf a single vehicle moving along the road.



Figure 4-47: Kootenay Park Gatehouse, architect W. D. Cromarty, 1923. Canadian Parks Services, Western Regional Office, Historical Photo File. Reprinted in Edward Mills, *Rustic Programs in Canada's National Parks, 1887-1950* (Ottawa: Parks Canada National Historic Sites Directorate, 1994), 49.

Many parks department structures in the Canadian Rockies were constructed in what historian Edward Mills has dubbed a “Tudor Rustic” style, which combined elements of the rustic bungalow camps with an Edwardian idiom. While the main construction is of peeled logs, note the stepped stone chimneys, a detail borrowed from the Tudor Revival style.



Figure 4-48: Blakley's Bungalows, 1994. Original construction 1931-1953. From Graham MacDonald, "The Alpine Architectural Heritage of the Four Mountain Parks: An Historical Review and Assessment," (Alberta: Parks Canada and Canadian Department of Heritage, 1994), 66.

Following the decision in 1931 to license private bungalow camps in the Western parks, imitators of the C.P.R. appeared. In this camp, a log sleeping cabin is given a pronounced Swiss flavor, with gingerbread-cut trim and a mountain goat painting in the gable.



Figure 4-49a: Map of Rockies, showing C.P.R. lines. *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1924). Image courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Note aerial perspective view, which exaggerates the extent of the C.P.R.'s railway, hotel, bungalow camp, and steamer network, which was concentrated in the Southern Rockies. These infrastructures are indicated by red lines, visible in detail below, Figure 4-48b.

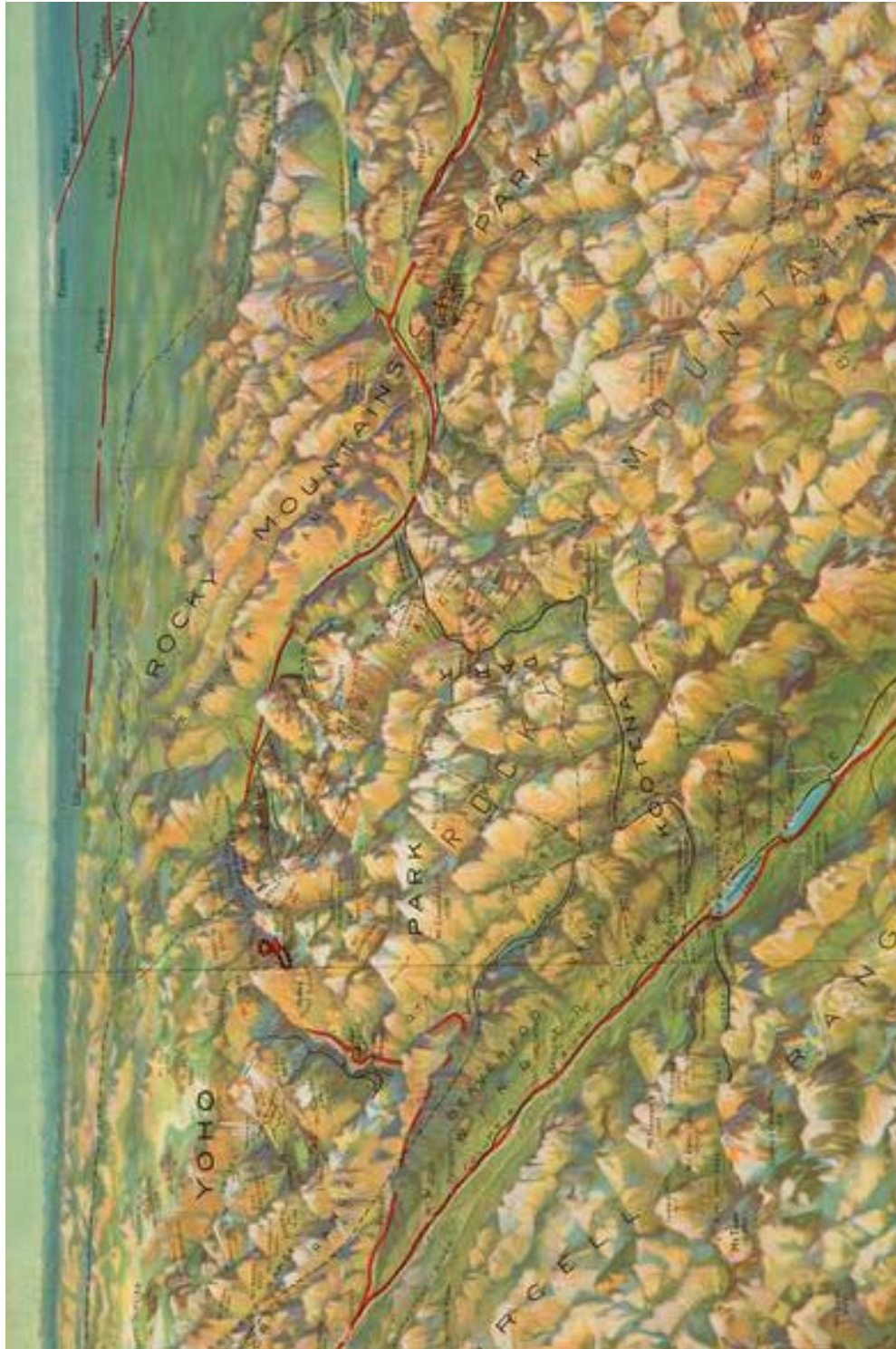


Figure 4-49b: Detail of bungalow camp region. *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1924). Image courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Railway lines are marked in red, while motor-roads, hiking trails, bungalow camp locations, and resort hotels are indicated in fine black lines.

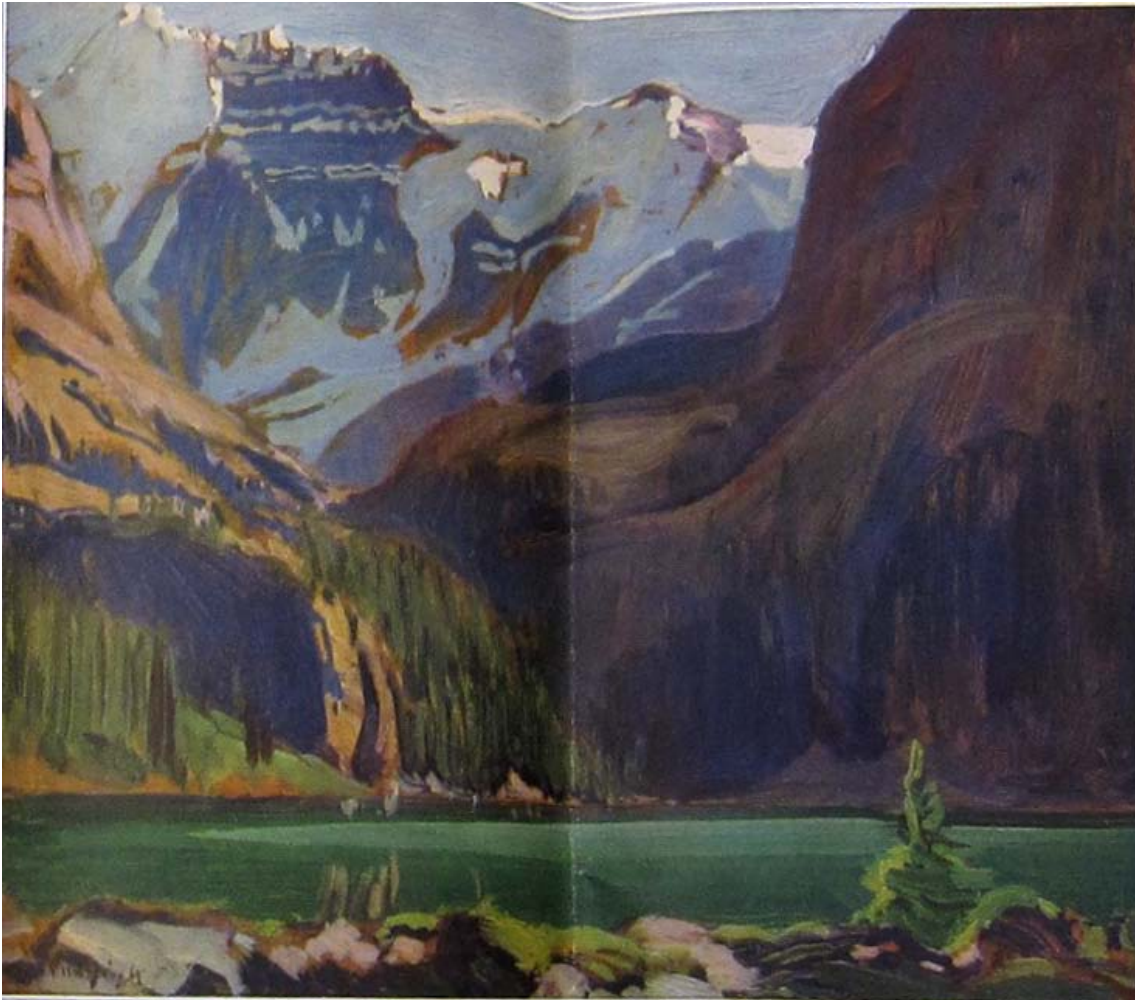


Figure 4-50: J.E.H. MacDonald, Lake O'Hara – seen from the Bungalow Camp, 1924. From *Resorts in the Canadian Pacific Rockies* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1928). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-00165. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

J.E.H. Macdonald was one of three Group of Seven members who sketched in the Canadian Rockies, under travel sponsorship from the C.P.R. While group members Lawren Harris and A.Y. Jackson largely sketched in the vicinity of Jasper, MacDonald camped and drew for several seasons at the Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp. In this image, drawn from the entrance of a bungalow camp cabin, a lone pine tree occupies the foreground, emphasizing the opportunity for solitude in the natural environs of the camps.



Figure 4-51: J.E.H. MacDonald, *Lake O'Hara and Snow* (n.d.).

In this winter scene, a lone tree is again used as a placeholder for the viewer. The closeness of the shoreline places the viewer on the banks of the lake, proposing an immersive experience in nature similar to what the bungalow camps aimed to offer. In their stylistic similarities to the Group's wilderness paintings of Northern Ontario, these canvases helped bring Western Canada into a nationalist myth that identified Canada with its wilderness landscapes.



Figure 4-52: Brochure cover image from *Lake O'Hara Bungalow Camp* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1930). Photo by author of material held by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This promotional image shows a lone rider on the opposite shore from the bungalow camp. Since the face is in shadow, the gender of the rider is ambiguous – it could be either a man or a woman. Their presence in this location shows the possibility of riding on a trail around the lake; another trail is visible leading up the hill to the right of the image. Compare the composition and placement of the subject to Figures 4-49 and 4-50.



Figure 5-1: Lord Strathcona dining room, Banff Springs Hotel. Late 1920s. Glenbow Archives NA-4465-73 (detail).

Indian motifs adorn this private dining room in the Banff Springs Hotel, in the form of two Native figures holding bows and arrows, cast in plaster in the corners of the ceiling.



Figure 5-2: Interior of tea room, Moraine Lake Lodge. n.d. Byron Harmon fonds, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies WMCR-N263/NA-5060.

A tea room at Moraine Lake, possibly housed in the log structure that predated the Moraine Lake Lodge, contained a large display of Native craftwork. This was comprised of local artifacts such as beaded ornaments, items from West Coast Pacific traditions like the painted thunderbird, and trinkets invented for sale to tourists, including miniature canoes and totem poles.

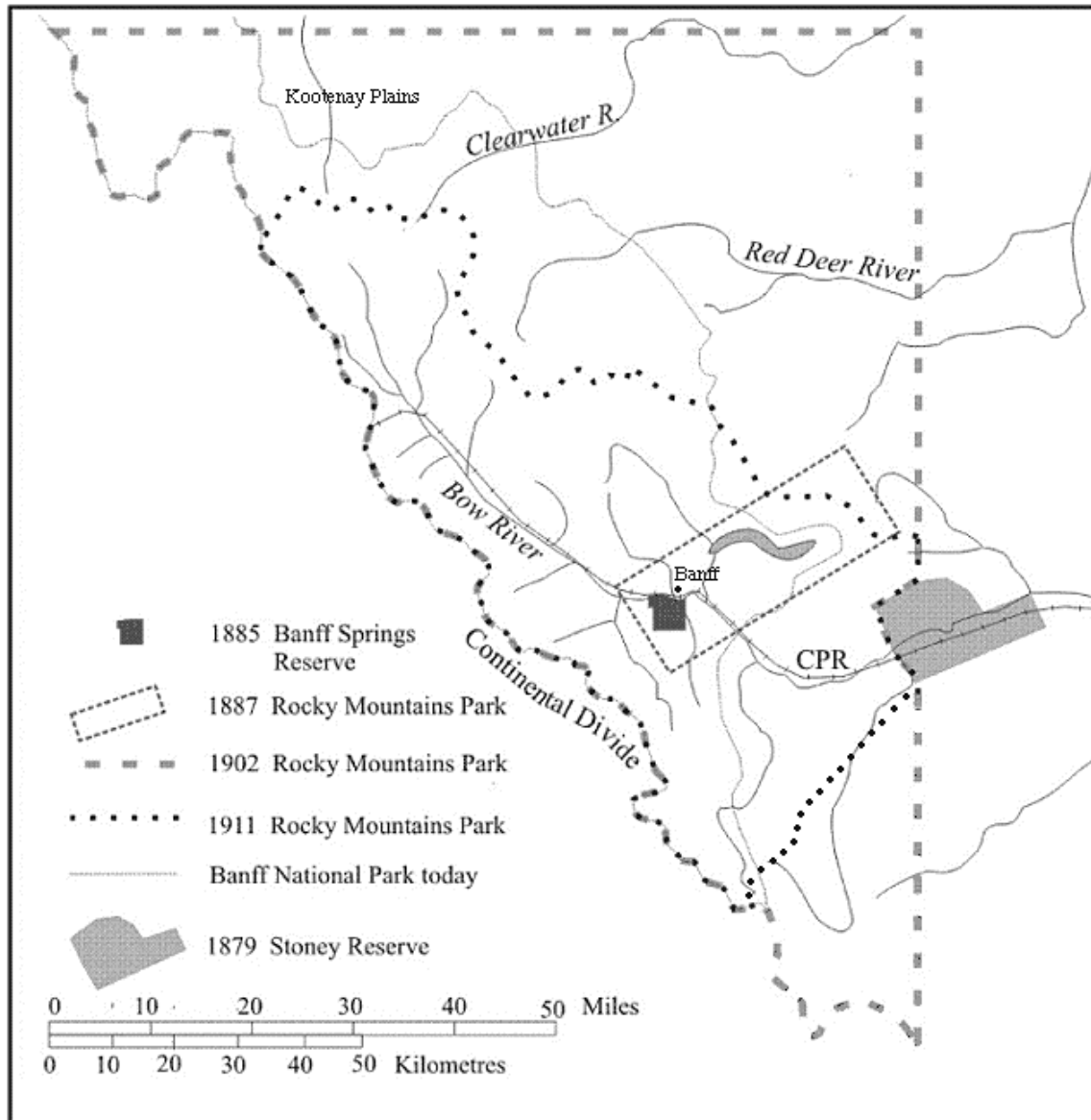


Figure 5-3: Location of Stoney Reserve. Adapted from Theodore Binnema and Melanie Niemi. “‘Let the Line be Drawn Now’: Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada.” *Environmental History* 11, no. 4 (2006): 724-50, 725.

Designated in 1879, the Stoney Reserve was located near the mission site of Morley, to the east of what would later become Rocky Mountains (Banff) National Park. Traditional Stoney hunting grounds extended from Morley, northwest through Banff to the Kootenay Plains.

BANFF INDIAN DAY SPORTS
1922

*1st parade 3-4-11
2nd parade 3-7-11*
First Day, July 17th

Second Day, July 18th

10 a.m., Grand Parade of 600 Stony Indians from Banff Race Track to C.P.R. Hotel and return via Hotel Bretton Hall. Cash Prizes for best Native Costumes.

Program at Race Track
COMMENCING AT TWO P.M. SHARP

1. Quarter Mile Dash 9 Three Money Prizes
2. One Mile Dash 15 Three Money Prizes
3. Novelty Cigar Race (One Helper Only) 9 Three Money Prizes
4. Half Mile Dash 15 Three Money Prizes
5. Relay Race (Two Horses, One Helper Only) 15 Three Money Prizes
6. 100-yds Squaw Foot Race 3 Three Money Prizes
7. Half Mile Dash, Boys 6 Three Money Prizes
8. Two Mile Race 20 Three Money Prizes

Other events arranged if desired. All monies, such as Gate Receipts, etc., go to the Indians.

Pow-wows each evening, corner Banff and Caribou Sts.

10 a.m., Grand Parade of 600 Stony Indians from Banff Race Track to C.P.R. Hotel and return via Hotel Bretton Hall. Cash Prizes for best Native Costumes.

Program at Race Track
COMMENCING AT TWO P.M. SHARP

1. Half Mile Dash 9 Three Money Prizes
2. One Mile Dash 15 Three Money Prizes
3. Indian Cowboy Race 15 Three Money Prizes
4. Wrestling on Horseback 7 Two Money Prizes
5. Bow and Arrow Contest 1 Three Money Prizes
6. Pitching Teepee, Hobbling Horses and Making Fire 20 Three Money Prizes
7. Striking Teepee and Packing Horse 10 Three Money Prizes
8. Bucking Contest 20 Two Money Prizes

In Events 6 and 7 Man and Woman will constitute the Camp, and nothing smaller than a 16-foot Teepee will be allowed.

Admission to Race Track and Sports: Adults \$1, Children 25c.

Figure 5-4: Program from Banff Indian Days, 1922. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies SKMBT_C35110071315232.

In 1922, the scheduled events included two grand parades, competitions at the racetrack, and nightly pow-wows. On this copy of the program, the prize amounts (ranging from \$1 to \$10) have been penciled in next to each event.



Figure 5-5: Edmund Morris, *Opazatonka*, 1910. Commissioned for Saskatchewan Legislature building. From www.thecanadasite.com/art/art29_morris.html. Retrieved Oct. 15, 2010.

Typical of Indian portraits of the time, this painting depicts a chief in regalia – with buffalo horn headdress, earrings, a bear-claw necklace, and brightly colored buckskin shirt. The subject looks placidly into the distance, and is set against a uniformly colored background, which gives the painting a timeless quality.



Figure 5-6: “A Cree Family at Home,” from *Glimpses along the CP Railway*, Canadian Pacific Railway, 1890. University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-BOOKS-00338. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Issued as part of a photographic portfolio of Indians, this image shows a destitute-looking Indian family next to their tipi, in a desolate landscape. The figures’ bedraggled appearance and their worn tipi would have made them compelling objects of reform.

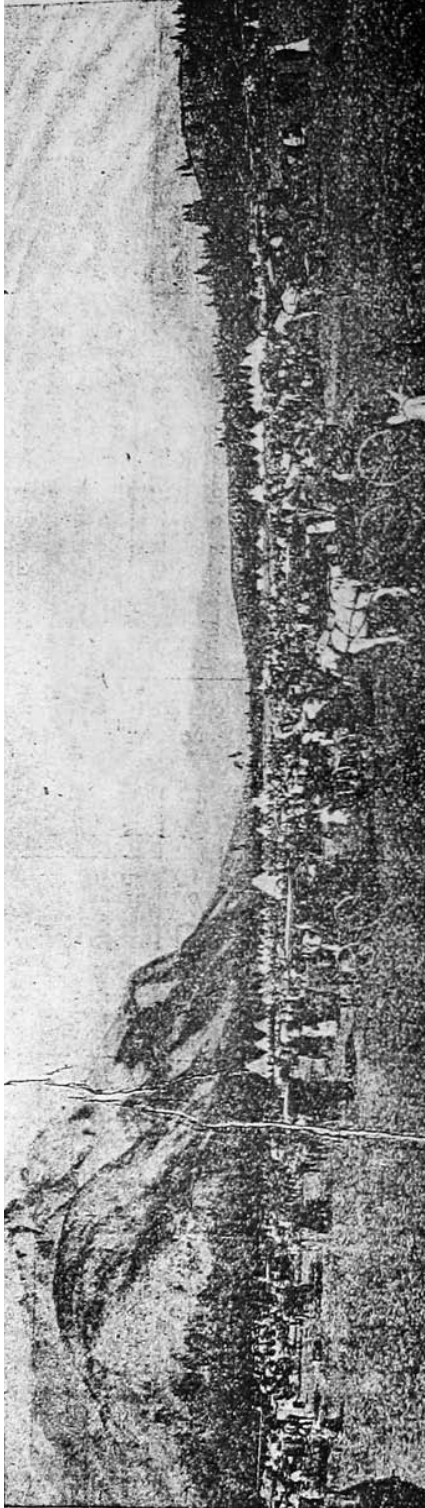


Figure 5-7: Banff Indian Days campground, 1912. From *Crag and Canyon*, Sept. 24, 1912. Glenbow Library, Banff Indian Days file.

This panorama shows the circular arrangement of tipis at Indian Days, framed against a backdrop of hills and alpine peaks that recede into the distance.



Figure 5-8: Banff Indian Days encampment, ca. 1890. Photo by Billy Whitnew, c/o Sarcee People's Museum. Reprinted in Laurie Meijer Drees, "The Banff Indian Days," *Native Studies Review* 7 (1991), no. 2.

In the early Banff Indian Days, the Stoney tipis were the type they used on seasonal excursions, and did not have painted decorations.

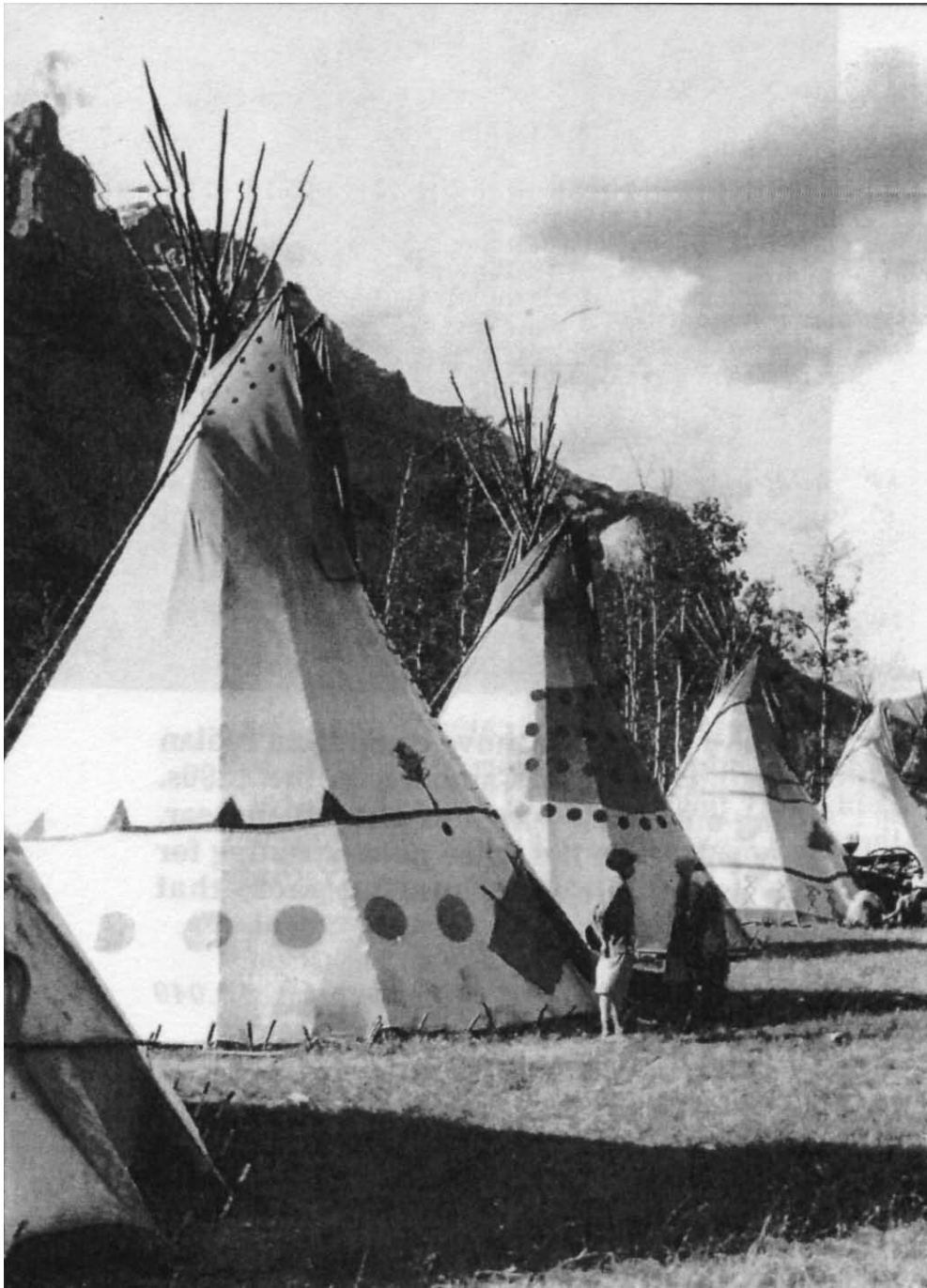


Figure 5-9: Banff Indian Days encampment, 1910. Provincial Archives of Alberta, From Hugh Dempsey, *Indians of the Rocky Mountain Parks*. Calgary: Fifth House Publishers, 1998, 38.

Painted decorations appeared on Indian Days tipis following the allotment of prizes for this type of adornment. In the foreground tipi, the motif seems to feature a line of tipis and a tree in silhouette.



Figure 5-10: Banff Indian Days encampment, 1919. Glenbow Archives NB-16-45.

Over the years, more elaborate designs appeared. These tipis show a sophisticated use of graphics to accentuate the tipis' conical geometry. The Union Jacks were mounted to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales at Banff Indian Days in 1919.

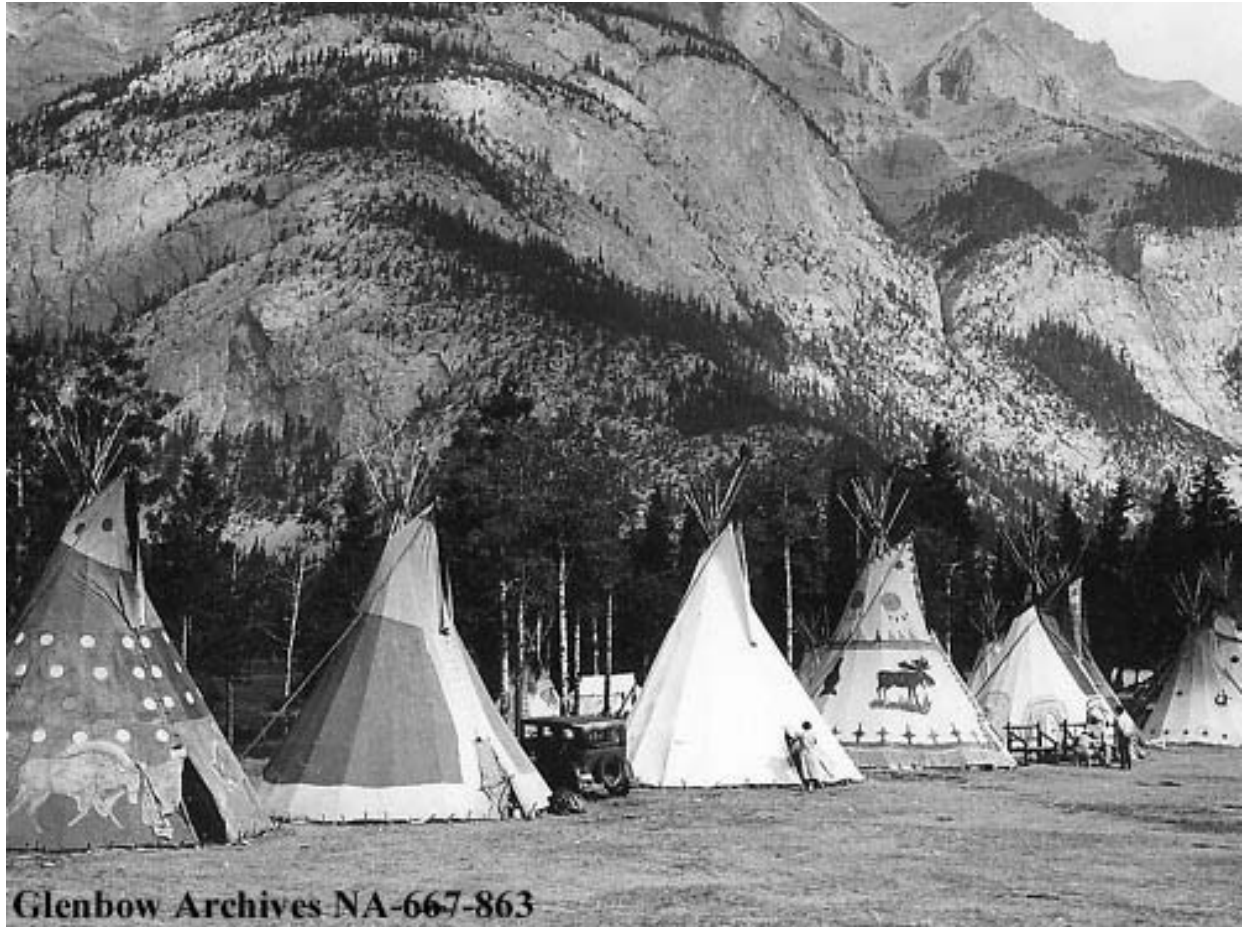


Figure 5-11: Banff Indian Days encampment, 1930s. Glenbow Archives NA-667-863.

Paintings fully adorn several of these tipis, which include highly detailed renderings – such as the bighorn sheep on the front tipi and the moose on the fourth tipi. Note the automobile near the second tipi – the mode of transportation preferred over horses by this time.



Figure 5-12: Tipi at Château Lake Louise, n.d. CP Archives 14628. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

Stoney-style tipis were erected as novelty items, rather than functional shelters, at locations such as this railroad siding near Château Lake Louise.



Figure 5-13: Woman and child in Banff Indian Days parade, 1912. Photo by Byron Harmon. Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies. Reprinted in Jon Whyte, *Indians in the Rockies* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1985), 115.

Early parades included Stoneys of all ages and gender. These three roughly clad Indians on horseback – child, woman, and baby – form a striking contrast to the three spectators by the roadside, in their Sunday best dresses and hats.



Figure 5-14: Indian Days, 1890. Glenbow Archives NA-530-1.

In this image from an early Indian Days parade, the Stoneys wear their everyday cotton clothes. The women wear loose skirts, shirts, and head-kerchiefs; the horses have no regalia.



Figure 5-15: Indian Days parade, ca. 1900-1903. Glenbow Archives NA-529-10.

The Stoney men in this early Indian Days procession wear Western-style cowboy hats, rather than the feathered headdresses they would don in later parades.

Glenbow Archives NA-714-22



Figure 5-16: Indian Days parade, 1924. Glenbow Archives NA-714-22.

By the mid-1920s, feathered headdresses were a common sight at Indians Days – even though these were traditionally worn by dancers and members from other tribes. All three Stoneys in this image wear elaborate buckskin shirts, and the front horse is clad in decorative regalia.



Figure 5-17: Indians playing golf. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Aug. 8 1926. From Glenbow Library, Banff Indian Days file.

In this publicity stunt, three Indian chiefs in feathered headdresses compete in a game of golf against a chic Brooklynite. Two of the chiefs are in traditional-looking buckskins, while the one of the left wears a jacket with stars that could appear on a cowboy outfit. Local entrepreneurs Norman Luxton and Jim Brewster, who helped to organize the annual Indian Days, appear as caddies in frontiersmen gear, with Mountie-style Stetson hats.



Figure 5-18: Parade inspection at Main Street, Banff, 1923. Glenbow Archives NA-714-105.

For several years, Indians participating in the parade were lined up on the median in the centre of Banff's main street. This may have officially been for costume judging, although the formation is reminiscent of a military inspection.



Figure 5-19: Stoney parade at Banff Springs Hotel courtyard, 1928. Glenbow Archives NA-714-109.

At the culmination of the parade, Stoneys gathered in the courtyard of the Banff Springs Hotel for award presentations, and in some years, ceremonial dances. Note the elevated position of spectators, on balconies overlooking the courtyard, and raised steps to the left of the image.



Figure 5-20: Stoney parade at Banff Springs Hotel courtyard, view from balcony, 1930s. Glenbow Archives NA-714-106.

The image of the gathered Stoney Indians is similar to the scene presented in *Feathered Braves*. The Indians are shown grouped together in the center of the frame, making it appear as if they have been corralled together and might be vulnerable to attack.



Figure 5-21: Banff Indian Days rider. *Toledo Blade*, Sept. 4 1910, 20. Glenbow Library, Banff Indian Days file.

Competitions involving horses were most often documented in photos, over events such as foot races. This image emphasized the wildness of the mount, who was equipped only with a halter, and no bit.

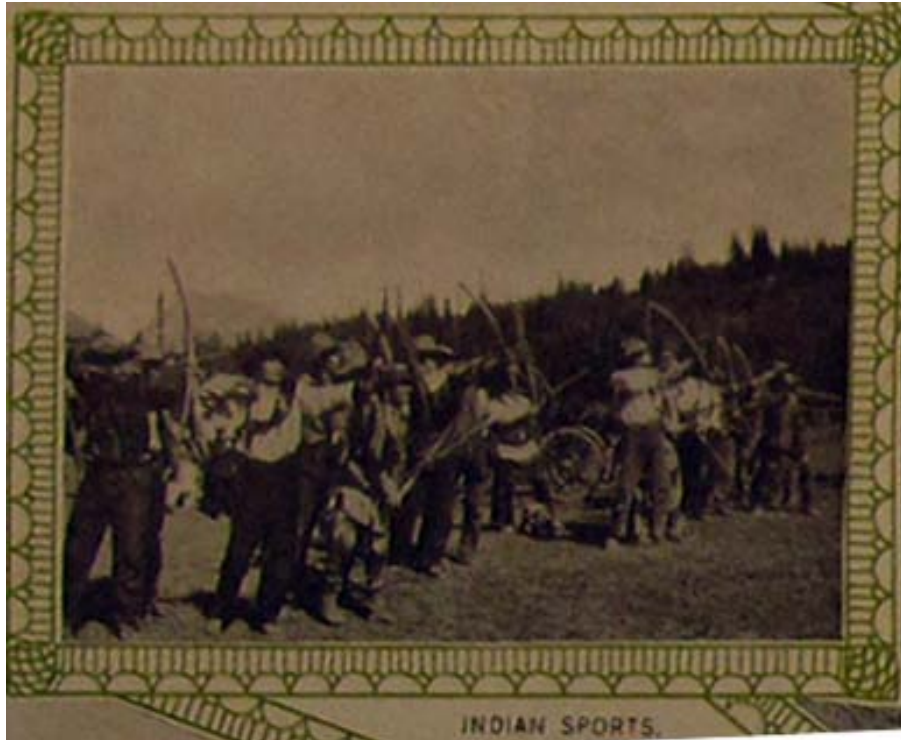


Figure 5-22: “Indian Sports,” *Canadian Rocky Mountain Resorts* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1911). University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Chung Collection, CC-FOLDR-000164. Copyright permission courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In archery competitions, Indian contestants aimed simultaneously at an animal target constructed from stuffed canvas. The chaotic scene of arrows shooting in different directions at the same time was entertaining to spectators.



Figure 5-23: Distribution of buffalo meat at Banff Indian Days, 1942. Photo by Fern Gully. From Laurie Meijer Drees, “The Banff Indian Days,” *Native Studies Review* 7 no. 2 (1991).

Beginning in the mid-1920s, buffalo meat was distributed as part of rations to participants in Indian Days, reinforcing links between the Indians and indigenous “wild” game. Although in the first years, the buffaloes were killed and butchered on-site, by the 1930s, frozen carcasses were used. It is not clear whether the meat shown in the image was butchered on- or off-site.



Figure 5-24: Indian Day Poster, anonymous, 1939. CP silkscreen No. 516. A6143. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This poster reinforced the traditional Indian aspects of Banff Indian Days, using a portrait of a Native elder, wearing buckskins and a feathered headdress. Compare to Figure 5-5. In both images, the figure is an older man in regalia, set against a neutral-toned backdrop. Through the lack of context or references to the present-day, the figure in the poster is rendered into an anonymous representative of a bygone era.

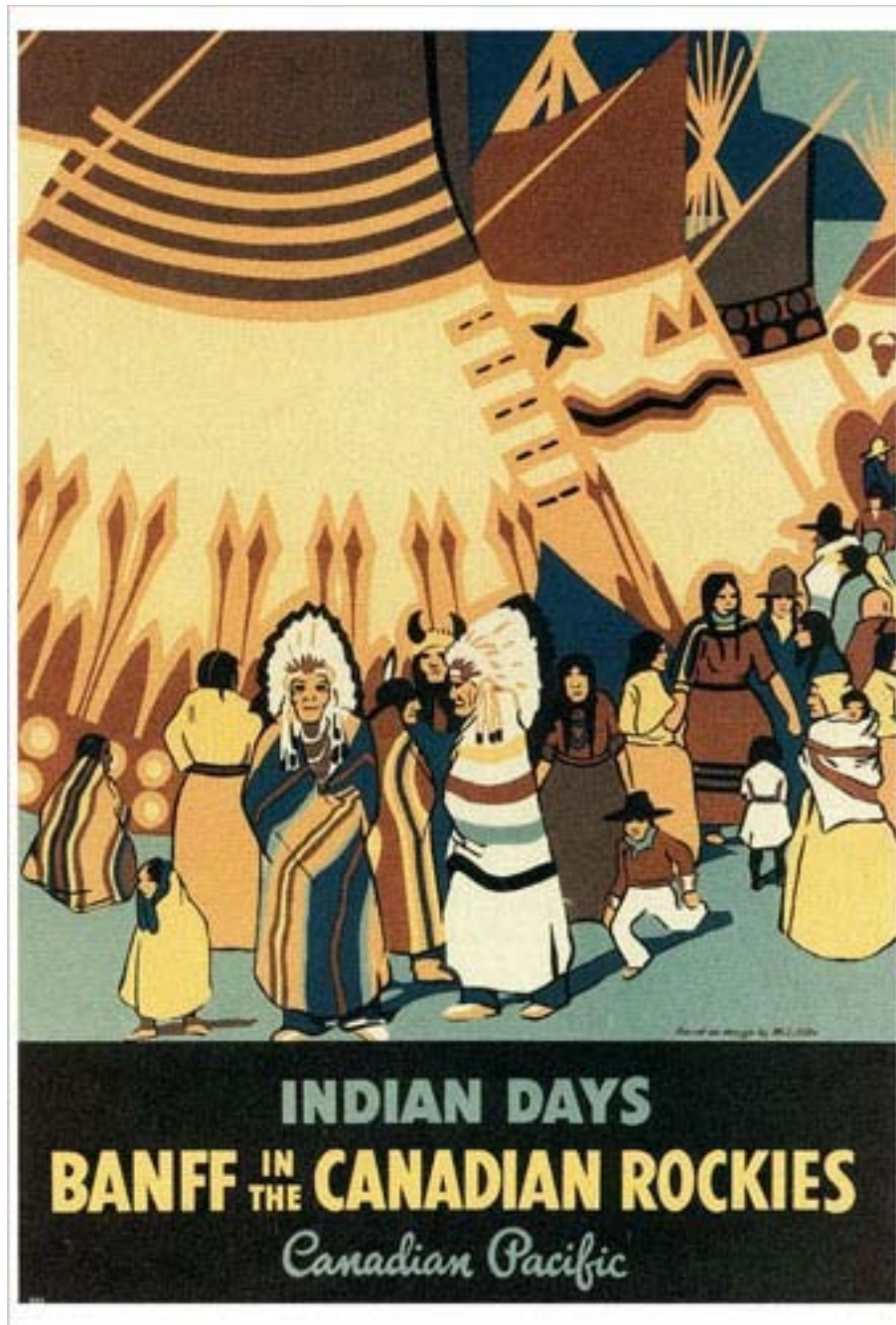


Figure 5-25: Banff Indian Days Poster, based on design by Wilfred Langdon Kihn, ca. 1946. CP silkscreen No. 885. A6546. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

In this re-edition of the 1926 poster by Wilfred Langdon Kihn [Figure 1-15], the scene is cropped to emphasize traditional Native figures. The Stoney dressed as a cowboy, prominent in the first image, is excluded from this one.



Figure 5-26: Indian display in Banff Springs Hotel reception hall, ca. 1929. CP Archives 319824 / NS19824. Courtesy of Canadian Pacific.

This exhibition of Native artifacts was possibly mounted in conjunction with the Banff Indian Week celebration in 1929. A miniature tipi sits on the floor, while blankets and costumes hang like game trophies from the walls.

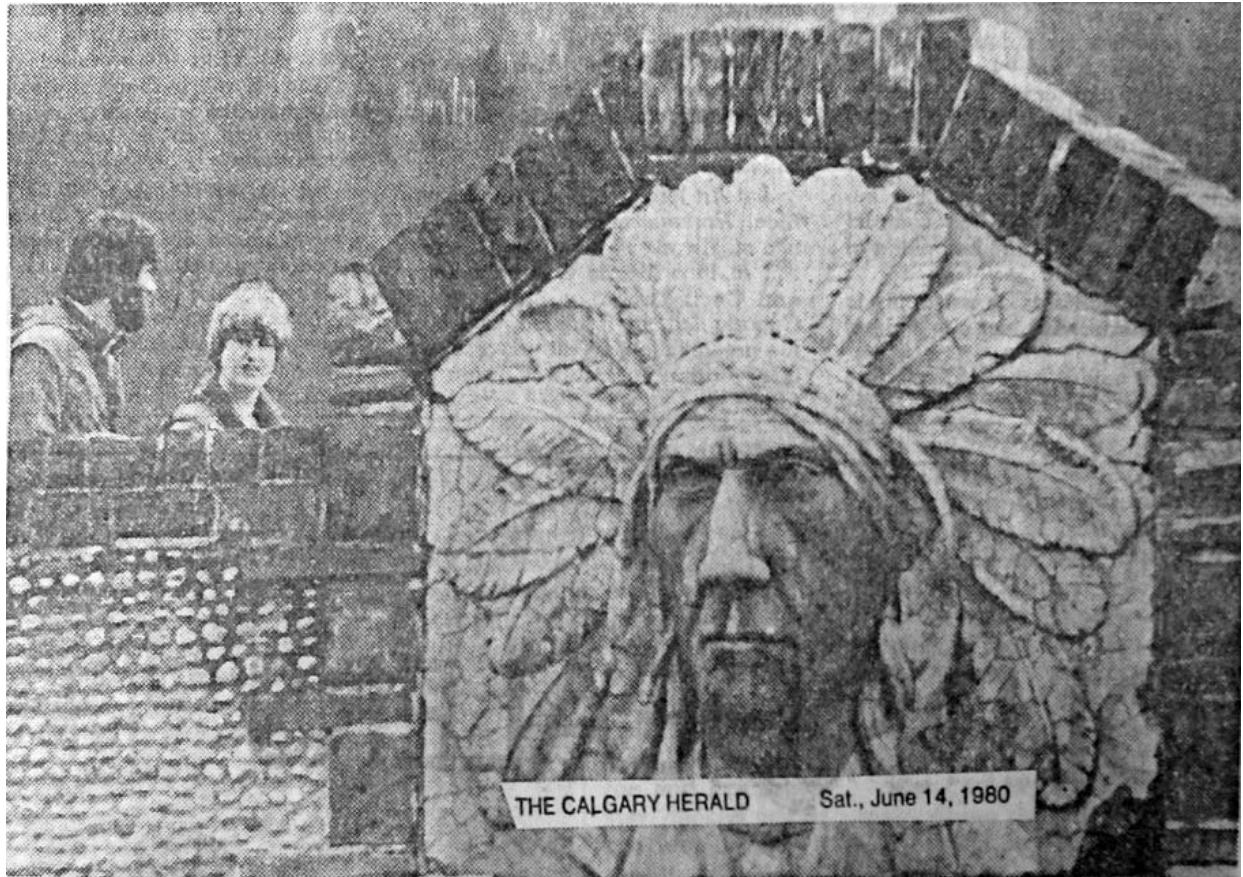


Figure 5-27: Bow River Bridge, Banff. Carved in 1922 by James L. Thompson. Photo by Bruce Patterson. *Calgary Herald*, June 14 1980. Glenbow Library, Banff Indian Days file.

The legacy of Indian Days is inscribed on the built environment in Banff, in places such as the Bow River Bridge, which is carved with the image of an Indian chief in feathered headdress.



Figure 6-1: Stoney Nat Hunter, on the Banff Springs Hotel golf course, 1941. Photo by Fern Gully. Glenbow Archives NA-1241-727.

This image encapsulates many elements that were seen as characteristic of “wilderness” during the period of this study. The presence of an Indian in regalia on horseback was a symbol of a “primitive wilderness,” the forest backdrop is reminiscent of the trees and lakes integral to a “recreational wilderness,” and the manicured golf course was a tidy element of a “civilized wilderness.”

Appendix 1: C.P.R. Ready-Made Farm Colonies

These tables document construction undertaken as part of the C.P.R.'s ready-made farm program, from 1909 to 1923. To the author's knowledge, all colonies were located in Alberta and Saskatchewan, although several colonies could not be located because their names have since changed. The data is compiled from C.P.R. Development Department annual reports, located at the Glenbow Archives, LSDF M2263.

Table 1: C.P.R. Ready-made farm colonies, 1909-1914

| Name | Province | Year(s) Developed | Number of Farms | Total Area (acres) |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Acme | AB | 1913 | 8 | 1280.00 |
| Bassano | AB | 1911, 1913, 1914 | 45 | 6526.19 |
| Cairnhill | AB | 1910, 1913 | 10 | 1520.00 |
| Carmangay | AB | 1913 | 19 | 2999.17 |
| Cluny | AB | 1911 | 34 | 8028.18 |
| Coaldale | AB | 1912 | 17 | 2720.00 |
| Crossfield | AB | 1910, 1913 | 12 | 1760.00 |
| Glenrose | AB | 1911 | 10 | 1507.60 |
| Irricana | AB | 1911 | 5 | 800.00 |
| Namaka | AB | 1911 | 13 | 1042.71 |
| Nightingale | AB | 1909 | 24 | 2313.51 |
| Rosemary | AB | 1912 | 16 | 2537.83 |
| Sedgewick | AB | 1910, 1911 | 122 | 27073.36 |
| Winona | SK | 1911 | 5 | 762.00 |
| Wolfe | SK | 1912 | 32 | 5278.00 |
| Wynyard | SK | 1913 | 19 | 3197.12 |

Table 2: C.P.R. Ready-made farm colonies for Returned Veterans, 1916-1923 *

| Name | Province | Year(s) Developed | Number of Farms | Total Area (acres) |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Anzac | AB | 1916 | 25 | 6160.00 |
| St. Julien | AB | 1916 | 50 | 8000.00 |
| Van Horne | Unknown | 1916 | 25 | 4000.00 |

* Apparently, these colonies were located near the towns of Coaldale, Standard, and Brooks. See Glenbow Archives, P.L. Naismith correspondence, M2269-84.

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